The Outlook

NOVEMBER 16, 1921

THE ELECTIONS: FOUR MORE YEARS OF HYLAN

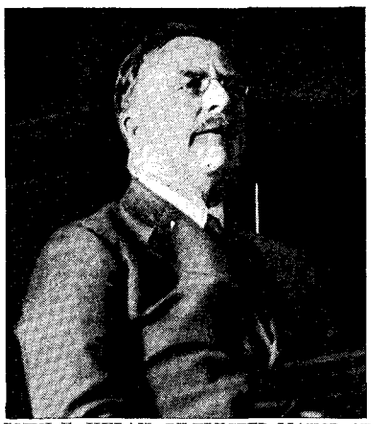
THE most important election of November 8 was undoubtedly that held in New York City.

The metropolis, since the overwhelming defeat of Mayor Mitchel, has had in its historic City Hall a Tammany henchman, John Hylan, now re-elected for a four-year term. Mayor Hylan brought to his high office few qualifications for service, and it is the general impression among students of municipal government that he has developed none since. In this election he was opposed for re-election by all but one of the leading newspapers of New York City, the Democratic "World" and the Republican "Tribune" fighting shoulder to shoulder with their contemporaries of various affiliations in their attack upon the administration of Mayor Hylan and Tammany Hall. Needless to say, the one journalistic machine which supported the Mayor was that controlled by William Randolph Hearst.

Does the re-election of Mayor Hylan mean that the electorate of New York is "corrupt and contented"? Does it mean that the average citizen of New York prefers inefficiency to efficiency, ignorance to intelligence? We are not so pessimistic as to think so. The reason why John Hylans are elected to office in American cities year after year is partly because they are backed by machines held together by the cohesive power of public plunder, but in a very much greater degree to the fact that the John Hylans have a homely neighborliness which the self-confessedly more intelligent elements in the community fail to recognize, or appreciate, or understand.

In the present instance this spirit of neighborly allegiance was greatly strengthened by the feeling that the up-State Republican organization was reaching out to exercise an undue control over the city's affairs. We do not think the charge a fair one, but Hearst and Hylan undoubtedly won thousands of votes on this score.

Tammany for generations has been a neighborhood organization. It has reached out to the people, not only during the few weeks before election time, but 365 days in the year. In leap years it is with the people 366. It may have been with the people for what it could get out of them, returning of its spoils only a small dole in the form of



JOHN F. HYLAN, RE-ELECTED MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

picnics and Christmas dinners. But it had the human touch. The human touch is no new political weapon. The Gracchi knew its efficacy as well as the sachems of Tammany Hall. Only too rarely is this gift of humanness combined with absolute integrity of purpose and with ability of the first order. When a leader has this power to be neighbor to a nation, as Lincoln had, there are no limits to the high service he may perform.

IN NORTH DAKOTA

THE recent North Dakota election resulted in the recall of the Governor, Secretary of Agriculture, and Attorney-General. The Non-Partisan League has suffered complete defeat of its candidates, although by a narrow margin.

The fate of the Amendment and Initiated Laws designed to complete the legal overthrow of Townleyism is still in doubt, with the last report favoring their passage.

We believe the people of North Dakota suffered wrongs, we all doubted the success of their experiment in correction through Socialism. We are glad to see them retracing their own steps.

To have criticised North Dakota's course, as we have in the past, is not to be without faith in the ultimate industrial and political success of that broad State.

THE KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT LAW AND THE RAILWAY STRIKE

WITH the recall of the railway strike order the question of the adjustment of railway labor difficulties became for the moment less pressing. But the incident invites attention to the important experiment in industrial peace now being conducted in the State of Kansas through its Industrial Court. What the Court could have accomplished in dealing with a situation with Nation-wide ramifications is of course problematical. But it was prepared to function. Incidentally, there is a striking similarity between the position and plans of Governor Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, in view of the threatened strike and the position outlined by Theodore Roosevelt in his letter of September 2, 1916, to Dr. Lyman Abbott regarding the railway trouble of that year.

The Kansas Industrial Court Act grew out of the coal miners' strike of the winter of 1919-20. It was the outcome of a general feeling in the State that industrial war should not be permitted to interfere with vital interests of the public. So it was made to apply to all essential industries, including transportation. The law creates a court appointed by the Governor to adjudicate industrial disputes of every sort. It has the power to order changes in the conduct of industries in the matter of minimum wages, hours, and working and living conditions. Appeals from its decision go at once to the Supreme Court of the State. Its provisions apply to employers as well as employees. Lockouts are forbidden, and if an essential industry is unable to give service the State is authorized to take over its management.

So far the Industrial Court Act has been tested, with a high degree of success, only in local disputes. When a general strike was ordered something over a year ago by the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and other unions, the Executive Committee specifically exempted Kansas from the call, on the ground that a railway strike in that State is unlawful. In the recently contemplated general strike no such exemption was made. So Governor Allen gave out a statement calling attention to the fact that the law prohibited "any men engaged in transportation from conspiring to deprive the public of this essential utility." "The law provides," he continued, "that all controversies between railroads and their employees relating to wages or working conditions shall be adjusted in the Court of Industrial Relations. In the meantime the lines shall continue to function. . . . The law gives the State the power

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to take over the railroads and to operate them on behalf of the public. In case of the failure of the roads to operate their lines, the State will take over those necessary to the public welfare." Meanwhile the State set to work to obtain a list of volunteers who could be enlisted in its service to operate the roads.

The similarity of this attitude and that of Colonel Roosevelt in the letter published in The Outlook for October 26 is apparent. Colonel Roosevelt's position was that the public interest demanded that the dispute be adjudicated by an impartial commission and that during this process transportation should not be interrupted. He proposed to use the armed forces of the country to man the roads, if necessary. Governor Allen was prepared to use the National Guard, but hoped to get a sufficient number of volunteers to keep the trains running. That he meant what he said nobody could doubt who watched him put his volunteers to work in the Kansas coal mines in the strike of 1919. From his experience, he believes a law enacted by Congress could do for the Nation what the State law has done for Kansas. Certainly in some such direction as this progress lies.

STRIKES AGAINST THE HOME

THE strikes of milk drivers and their helpers in New York City and Cleveland have rightly aroused indignation. In such strikes as these the public plays the part of the innocent bystander who suffers more than either of the nominal parties to the contest. It is intolerable that such an essential in every home as the milk we drink, such a necessity for invalids and young children, should be dependent as to its supply upon industrial quarrels between the distributing companies and their employees. The limit of endurance of this kind of industrial warfare must sometime be reached, and then questions relating to employment and wages will be decided by authority after due hearing, instead of being tested by what really amounts to force. In the two recent milk strikes actual brute force was a considerable element in the situation, for innumerable instances of violence on a small scale were reported.

Not only was public opinion aroused against the abandonment of the milk service, but, as in the recently threatened railway strike, the feeling was general that it was both wrong and unwise for the men employed to demand higher wages at a time when the general lowering of war-time wages is believed to be a necessity as part of any plan for getting business on a normal and reasonable basis. The railway unions and the milk-drivers' unions both demanded an increase of wages without really expecting to get it, and in order to fight off any new decrease in wages. This, no doubt, seemed a cunning policy to the leaders, but it defeated itself. The result in the case of the milk strikes has been to drive the distributing companies into an effort to throw off altogether union control and put the business on an open-shop basis. If the companies succeed in that attempt, the unions have only themselves to blame for the result of their injudicious and inhumane attack on the homes of the people.

THE RED CROSS ROLL CALL

THE annual Roll Call of the Red Cross began on Armistice Day, November 11. Dr. Livingston Farrand has been succeeded as Chairman of the National Central Committee by Judge John Barton Payne. Dr. Farrand, who has done conspicuous service as the practical executive head of the Red Cross, has become the President of Cornell University. In a special message from President Harding to Dr. Farrand announcing the appointment of Judge Payne, the President remarks: "We want the organization maintained at the highest degree of efficiency and ever ready to meet any emergency."

It may be that there are people who ask, What need is there of the Red Cross now that the war is over? It is true that many organizations for humanitarian service were formed in war time the value of which disappeared with the cessation of hostilities. It would be a tremendous error, indeed an absurdity, to believe that this is true of the Red Cross. It existed many years before the Great War. Its activities and service before, during, and after the war have been and continue to be practical and widespread and are not duplicated by any other organization.

If it is asked what these services are, the answers are so many and so striking that one hesitates where to begin. In the first place, the Red Cross is an insurance against disaster, a quick and effective relief when calamity on a large scale strikes any part or section of the country. We all remember what the Red Cross did in San Francisco and the Galveston floods; most of us know what it did during the last year at Corpus Christi and at Tulsa and in the Pueblo floods; but few know that it has been active in relief during the year in seventy different disasters in different parts of the country, or that it has expended in the last twenty years over fourteen million dollars for the single purpose of disaster relief. We all hear of the big disaster, but when a cyclone strikes a little town in Georgia (to quote one typical case) and the people are homeless and hungry, and Red Cross nurses from the nearest large town are on the scene of disaster within a few hours, with tents and beds and food, the incident is soon forgotten, yet it is typical of one division of Red Cross work. "Always Ready" is the primary slogan of the American Red Cross.

"The improvement of health, the prevention of disaster, and the mitigation of suffering" is a large programme for home work, but it is being carried out in a dozen different ways. The Home Service trains public health nurses, establishes health centers and rest-rooms, forms local organizations to meet epidemics, looks after child welfare, and it does all this and much else in a carefully thought out and systematic manner. One Red Cross official said, "It is a great thing to go to the 'phone and command the universe." The Red Cross does not claim to do this, but it can call out at the briefest possible notice the service that is needed most.

Nor have war needs ceased, so far as the Red Cross work goes. In this country it aids wounded veterans to get Government training, sometimes helping their families and the men themselves financially in the meantime. In New York City alone in the last year it helped four thousand jobless ex-service men to find work. It looks after ex-service men in hospitals, and in New York City alone last year helped over five thousand such men. It considers the care of disabled veterans and their families its most sacred obligation. Last year the American Red Cross spent approximately ten million dollars in serving disabled ex-service men and their families. This one branch of Red Cross work cost nearly four million dollars more than the aggregate receipts from the year's membership dues.

In Europe and in the East the Red Cross work in famine and pestilence is expressed in many millions of dollars, but better expressed in the aid rendered to literally millions of people—for instance, in the China famine it is believed that the Red Cross saved three or four millions from death, and of these the great majority were children. The Reds of Russia will not allow the Red Cross entrance, but it sent quantities of supplies there through other hands. In Poland it helped 40,000 refugees from the Soviet invasion and fed 500,000 children. In the Balkans, Hungary, and elsewhere the work goes on every day of the week.

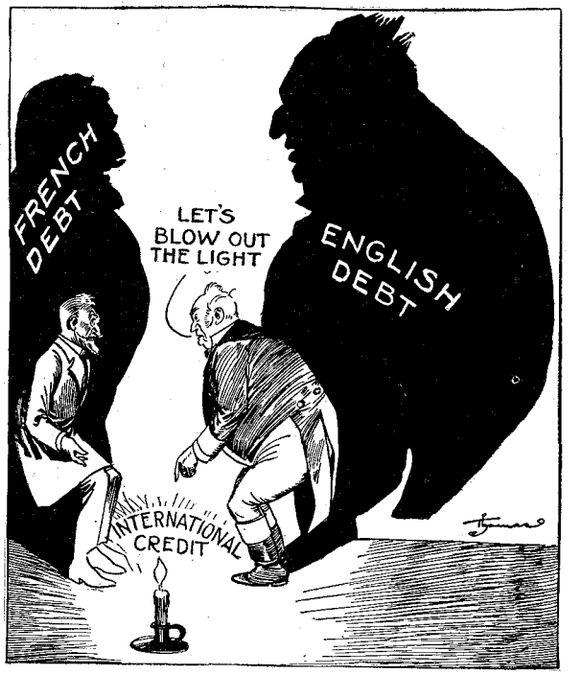
The Fifth Roll Call, now at hand, is not primarily a call for contributions, but for a renewal of membership and a renewal also of interest and appreciation of the value of the American Red Cross to the American people. It is not to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I DO NOT LIKE THAT PAYING BACK

(I Henry IV, Act III, Scene 3)

Thomas in the Detroit News

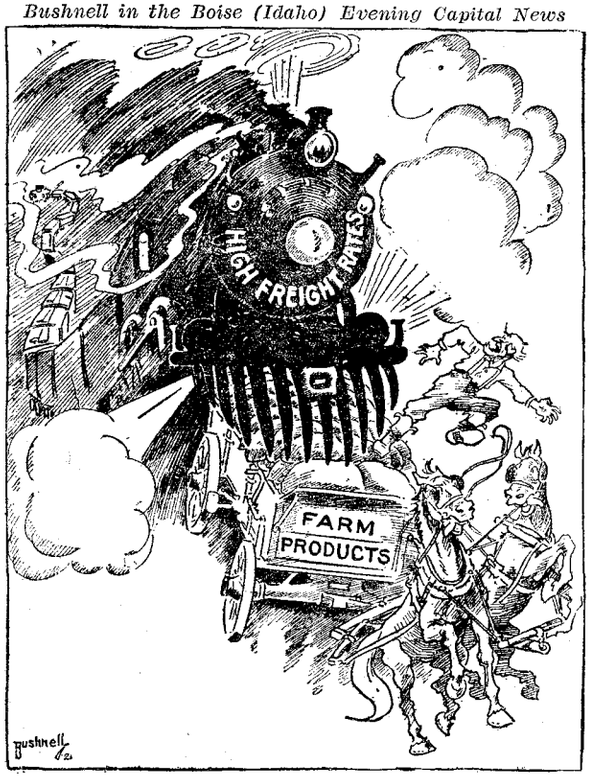


TO GET RID OF THEIR SHADOWS

Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service

ACH HIMMEL! DER MARK IS SO LOW, I AM RUINED! I CANNOT DER REPARATIONS MAKE!!

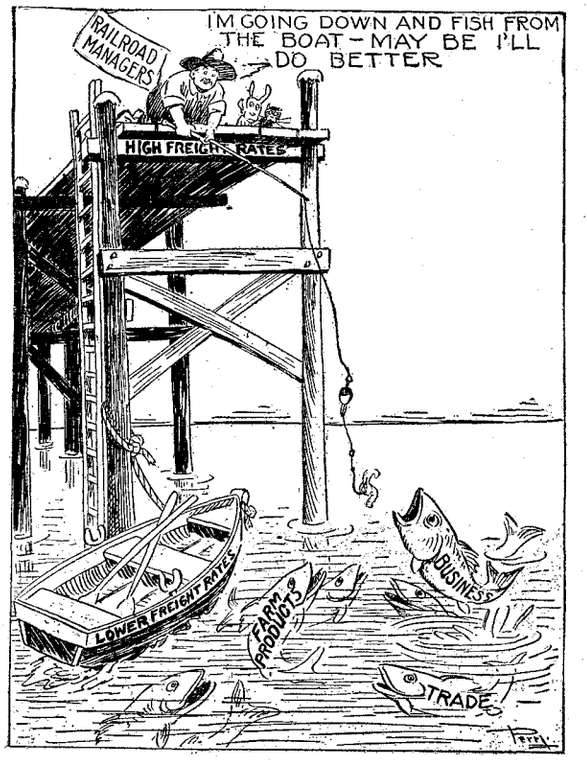
Bushnell in the Boise (Idaho) Evening Capital News



SHOWING THAT THE OLD FIERY DRAGON THAT DEVOURED WAGON, LOAD, HORSES, AND MAN IS NOT YET EXTINCT

From C. E. Redfield, Payette, Idaho

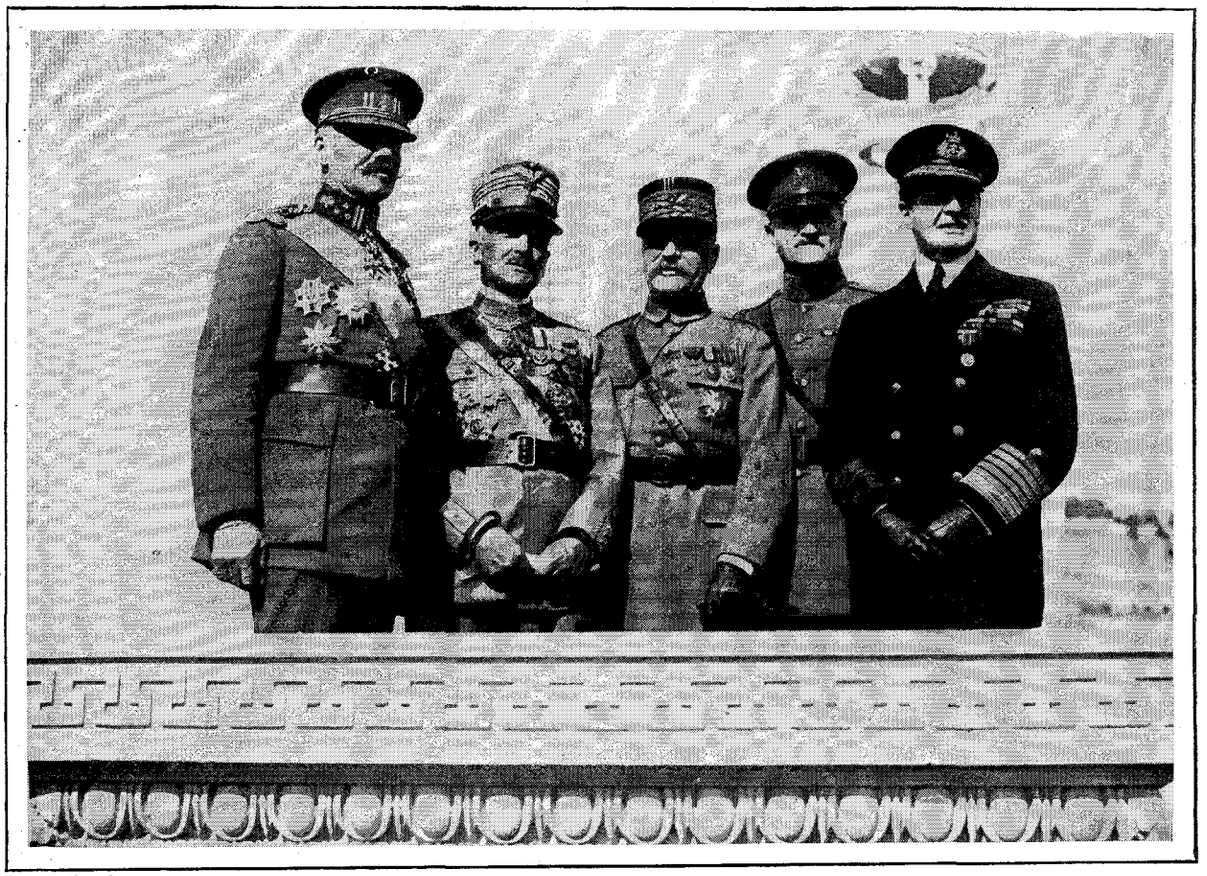
From the Portland Oregonian



A WISE DECISION

From T. M. Bushnell, New York City

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



International

GUESTS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION—DE JACQUES, DIAZ, FOCH, PERSHING, AND BEATTY

be expected that the active membership could be what it was during the time of war, yet there is no manner of doubt that it will continue to be so extended as fairly to represent the interest of the country in the work. That it has been so since the cessation of hostilities is shown by the fact that in the year ending June 30, 1921, the total membership at that time was a little over six million persons, a number vastly in excess of the ante-war membership.

The Red Cross service is one way of preparing against war, and in war and peace time it works for humanity.

THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION AT KANSAS CITY

THE American Legion Convention at Kansas City brought together some 25,000 veterans of the World War. It is the conclusions of the Legion's Convention which are of first concern.

The Legion chose as its commander for the coming year Hanford MacNider, of Iowa. Mr. MacNider graduated from Harvard in 1911 and made a brilliant record in the A. E. F. which won him the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He is a forceful and dynamic character who seldom has failed, either in peace or war, to reach the objective upon which he has set his heart. Commander MacNider has outlined the four issues which the Legion will back as "law and order, immediate relief for the disabled, Americanism, and adjusted compensation."

The Legion passed a resolution, after some acrimonious debate, which censured Ambassador Harvey for his explanation of America's entry into the war. This resolution read:

> *Resolved,* That the sentiment expressed by America's Ambassador, George Harvey, setting forth the reasons for America's entry into the World War, and the cause for which America fought, does not represent the true American attitude as interpreted by the American Legion, and let it be known now and for all time that America fought not only for the maintenance of America's rights, but for the freedom of the world.

The Legion in other resolutions expressed its sympathy for President Wilson in his illness, extended the courtesy of the Legion to all veterans of Canada visiting the United States, called upon the Veterans' Bureau to announce a constructive programme, advocated the use of alien property held by the Government to pay indemnity war claims, indorsed the idea of international armament limitation, demanded the return to the United States of Grover C. Bergdoll, and protested against any commutation of the sentence of Eugene V. Debs or others imprisoned for disloyal acts. The conclusion seems less momentous than friends of the Legion have might well have hoped for from such a gathering.

The Legion selected New Orleans as the location of its next annual Convention.

FOUR MEN WHO HAVE MADE HISTORY

FOUR distinguished foreign visitors were the guests of the Legion at Kansas City—General Diaz, Admiral Beatty, General de Jacques, Marshal Foch.

As of highest rank among the first three, by virtue of being Generalissimo of the Italian forces, Armando Diaz may be spoken of first. He is sixty years old, but looks younger. He is of medium height; his iron-gray hair and mustache are clipped close; his face is tanned by years of African sun. He is a Neapolitan born and bred. But his poise in his daily routine and his coolness shown in face of danger prove that these qualities are not exclusively northern, as is often supposed. Diaz made his reputation in the Abyssinian campaign, and built it up during the Tripolitan war. When the World War broke out, he was already a junior major-general. He distinguished himself in the Carso fighting, still more in the defense of Venice, and supremely at Vittorio Veneto, whence he sent the Austrians staggering back, leaving thousands of prisoners, hundreds of guns, and forced to sue for an armistice.

Bluff sailor-like Lord Beatty of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brooksby is an Irishman by birth and is fifty years old. During the Sudan campaign he served gallantly as a lieutenant on the Nile gunboats. Later he commanded a battleship in Chinese waters at the time of the Boxer rebellion, and he saw shore duty with a naval brigade. When only twenty-nine years old he wore a captain's uniform and was rear-admiral when only thirty-eight. In the World War he took part in more fighting than did any other admiral. At the battle of Jutland he commanded the first battle-cruiser squadron, and so well that thereafter his officers and men looked upon him as a second Nelson. He succeeded to the command of the Grand Fleet and is now First Sea Lord. Lady Beatty is an American, the daughter of the late Marshall Field, of Chicago.

Lieutenant-General Alfonse de Jacques is Chief of Staff of the Belgian Army. He is sixty-three years old, but, like Diaz, he looks younger. He saw early service in the Congo. Commanding a regiment at Liège when the war broke out, he was a soldier on whom not only Belgium but also England and France relied to hold the Germans in check until the British and French armies could be placed adequately at the front. He rose to the command of the Third Division of the Belgian Army and made himself famous as the defender of Dixmude. "We had orders to hold Dixmude till death," he said, and adds, "We held it."

MARSHAL FOCH

But the most illustrious of our visitors is Ferdinand Foch, Marshal of France, Generalissimo of the Allied Forces since 1918. He is seventy years old, and, like the other men, looks much younger. So familiar has his face become in the illustrated papers that in greeting him Americans felt as if greeting an old friend. But what no newspaper, illustrated or otherwise, can reproduce is the Marshal's simple and modest manner. In him pre-eminently is realized the saying that great men are always simple. Every comment he has made has had the characteristic of directness, simplicity, humanness. And yet underneath it all one feels the quality of the man who during the first Battle of the Marne could thus telegraph to Joffre: "My center is giving way, my right is retreating. The situation is excellent. I am attacking!" This was the kind of grit characterizing the general whose genius and audacity four years later brought the world's struggle to an end.

One shudders to think what fate might have brought had not the unity of command been settled as it was at the historic meeting in Doullens.

PREPOSTEROUS AND INCREDIBLE

Perhaps it is as well that the United States Senate has appointed a committee to investigate, not only Senator Watson's specific charges that American soldiers were put to death without trial in France, but all alleged cases of ill treatment of private soldiers abroad. Such an investigation will result in clearing away the gossip, slander, and myth that seem to have been passed from mouth to ear by credulous, discontented, and unpatriotic persons. It would be a miracle if single cases of wrong or brutal conduct towards privates did not occur in an army of two millions, but that such cases represented a general condition or that atrocities and murders such as lawless executions were condoned and concealed is incredible. When proof is demanded, such vague and vicious slanders disappear like the mist.

The public, in lack of evidence, will agree with ex-Secretary Baker that Senator Watson's charges are preposterous. As Mr. Baker says, "France was not a howling wilderness, but a civilized country. It was pretty well crowded with American men and women who would have been quick to report anything of this kind. If a single American soldier had been hanged without trial, word of it would have come to this country and proper measures would have been taken."

When called on to defend his charges, Senator Watson shifted his assertions from the specific to the general. He had said, for instance, that "a private soldier was frequently shot by his officers because of some complaint against officers' insolence; and that they had gallows upon which men were hanged day after day, without court martial or any other form of trial." The only pretense of evidence of anything like this is a photograph of a gallows upon which some one may or may not have been executed after due trial and conviction, and the fact that some unnamed soldier said that he believed that there had been executions without trial. And Senator Watson is a lawyer! He should be made to apologize for his unproved assertions and not allowed to evade that issue by declaring generally that there was some inhumane and neglectful treatment of the soldiers.

THE ADVISORY COMMISSION OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

To the gratification of all who know him, President Harding has named ex-Senator George Sutherland, of Utah, as the head of the Advisory Commission of the Arms Conference. Mr. Sutherland is fifty-nine years old. He was born in England, but came to this country as a child, studied in Utah and at the University of Michigan, and practiced law at Salt Lake City. He was a member of the Utah Senate, of the House of Representatives, and for two terms of the United States Senate. He was delegate to five Republican National Conventions. He has also been President of the American Bar Association. He is the author of a volume quite indispensable to students of international politics, "Constitutional Power and World Affairs." Mr. Sutherland's judgment concerning those affairs is held in much the same respect as is that of ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, or that of our present Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes. Mr. Sutherland's influence in the Conference may perhaps turn out to be not less than theirs.

Among other members of the Conference are Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Under-Secretary of State Fletcher, General Pershing, Admiral Rodgers, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, President Barrett of the Farmers' Union, Governor Parker of Louisiana, and other prominent persons, including four women, namely, Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter of Minnesota, Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan of New York, and Mrs. Katherine Philips Edson of California.

In addition to the Advisory Committee the President has appointed a group of selected technical advisers, headed by Major-General Harbord, Deputy Chief of Staff. The group is made up of Army and Navy officers, State Department officials, and other men selected from executive departments.

THE MURDER OF HARA

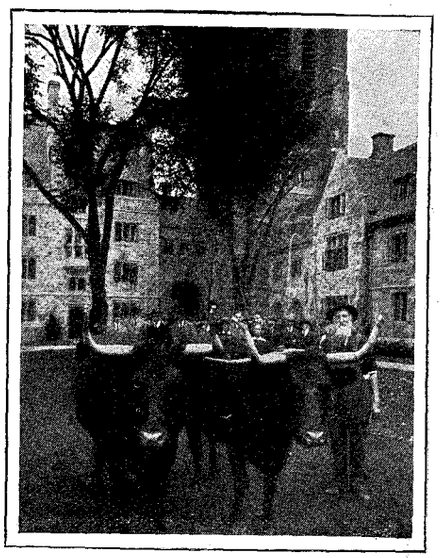
The assassination of the Premier of Japan has shocked the world. It was probably the deed of some youthful political fanatic. Yet the Prime Minister's opposition to the militaristic element in Japan will make him seem a martyr to his cause.

Takashi Hara was sixty-six years old. His life had been one of distinction in two fields. First, in journalism. His earliest service was with the Tokyo "Hochi" (the News). Later he made a great political power of the Osaka "Mainichi" (the Daily), and still later of the Osaka "Shinpo" (Current Problems).

Second, as to his Government service. He had already begun with a clerkship in the Foreign Office. He then occupied various diplomatic posts. He was afterwards repeatedly Home Secretary in the Cabinets of the Seiyukai, or Constitutional Liberal party; he had been one of its founders. Three years ago the Terauchi Cabinet fell, and, for the first time in Japan's history, a liberal Em-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAYING OF THE BRANFORD MILLSTONE IN THE SIDEWALK OF BRANFORD COURT, HARKNESS MEMORIAL, AT YALE



THE OX TEAM WHICH CARRIED THE MILLSTONE TO BRANFORD COURT

peror called upon a commoner—Takashi Hara—to form a Cabinet. The Hara Cabinet was really a challenge to the extreme militarists. The new Premier denied Japan's supposed imperialistic aims and insisted that economic, and not political, penetration was her true foreign policy. He was no less pronounced as to domestic policy; it was summed up in the word democratization. He believed in emphasizing local democracy wherever possible and in extending the franchise.

Lloyd George is reported to have said the other day that in his Cabinets he had known many statesmen but few politicians, and that a real politician was actually harder to find than a statesman. Hara was both. As may be gathered from the above, he was a statesman. But he was also a politician; he knew how to control men. One reason for this was because of their belief that no one better than he understood the complexities of the Japanese situation either at home or abroad.

At first Hara had expected to attend the Washington Conference. A fourth place among the Japanese delegates has been conspicuously vacant. It was hoped, especially by his American friends, that, at the last moment, home affairs would permit him to come to Washington. But the programme of conciliation, combined with emphasis on Japan's legitimate ambitions, announced by him on the departure of the delegation from Japan, will not be altered by his death.

THE ART CENTER

SEVEN affiliated art societies joined in dedicating their new headquarters in New York City, 65 East Fifty-sixth Street, during the first week in November. The event was one of real significance in the development of industrial and graphic art in New York, and was signalized as such in addresses by Dr. John Finley, Charles Dana Gibson, Mrs. Ripley Hitchcock (the Art Center's president and one of the chief promoters of the consolidation of the societies), and others. Governor Miller, of New York, sent a telegram saying: "I am happy in the opportunity to congratulate your society on the erection of a national Art Center for the Industrial Craft and Graphic Arts, and I recognize in the attainment of this ambition the culmination of a distinct movement in American art." The building, which originally consisted of two ordinary brownstone dwellings of a type formerly almost too common in New York, while not at all ornate, has been finely adapted to its new purposes. The exhibitions of the illustrative arts contributed by the various societies, of which a more detailed account was given in our issue of September 14, fill several floors of the new building and will no doubt attract the wide interest they deserve.

(C) Keystone
TAKASHI HARA, PREMIER OF JAPAN

YALE'S MEMORIAL MILLSTONES

IN planning Yale's Memorial Quadrangle, which has as its outstanding feature the Harkness Tower, lately pictured in these pages, the architect and the College authorities took pains to embody several things which would associate it with the ancient memories of the College. For instance, a stone from each of the old college buildings which stood in the space now occupied by the Memorial Quadrangle was placed beneath the corner-stone, and that corner-stone was laid on the two hundredth anniversary of the day on which work started on the first Yale College building. Again, in Wrexham Close in the Quadrangle is placed a stone from old Wrexham church—exchanged, it is said, with Yale by the thrifty congregation of that church for a first-class American refrigerator. The most striking and oddest memorials of the past were put in place the other day. Yale was founded at Branford, its class work began in Killingworth, and its first Commencement was held at Saybrook. In each of these towns there has been found, identified beyond question, and brought to the Memorial Quadrangle an ancient millstone which ground the corn for the early teachers and students of what is now the University. They have been placed in the sidewalks of three courts of the Memorial Quadrangle, named, respectively, Branford, Killingworth, and Saybrook.

The informal ceremonies pleasantly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and picturesquely commemorated the old-time history of the little College three hundred years ago. Mr. Edwin Oviatt, in a readable account of the ceremonies in the Yale "Alumni Weekly," recounts the history of what he terms Yale memorabilia, and describes agreeably and entertainingly the exercises. Evidently the details of the occasion were in keeping with the old-time spirit, for he says: "It was a unique sight in New Haven, that of the sturdy red ox-team, driven by an old man with flowing white whiskers and in blue overalls, with the Branford millstone slung under the wagon en route from its ancient site in the old Branford of 1678 to the Yale Campus of 1921."

In regard to other memorial features of the Quadrangle, Mr. Oviatt says: "There are the reliefs in the commons rooms of old New Haven and Yale history, the window decorations copied out of old Yale annuals, the insignia of past-gone undergraduate societies, the sculptures of Yale men living and dead, that one comes upon at every other turn of this remarkable building, which seems richer in thought and feeling and more remarkable every time one visits it."

We take pleasure in reproducing two photographs which appeared in the Yale "Alumni Weekly."

INCORPORATE THE LABOR UNIONS

THOSE who read with open minds the history of organized labor must admit that trade-unionism, in the hundred years of its existence, has greatly improved the material and intellectual conditions of wage-workers all over the civilized world. Wages have risen and factory conditions have become more humane and sanitary. Some of this improvement is due to the general advance of civilization, but a large part of it is the direct result of the organized effort of the trade unions. It is futile, we think, to suppose that wage-workers can be persuaded to abandon the policy of organization or that the trade unions can be overthrown or blotted out of existence. Nor do we believe that the most far-seeing employers of labor want them blotted out of existence. Collective bargaining—that is to say, contracting with large groups of workers regarding wages, hours, and conditions of labor—is an essential factor of modern industry. And collective bargaining can be carried on only with organized groups like trade unions. It is an advantage not only to the worker but to the employer to have prevailing standards of hours and wages of labor. For the worker these standards mean freedom from practical serfdom; for the employer, freedom from cutthroat and unscrupulous competition.

Civilized society can have no objection to or antagonism for the fundamental principle of the trade union—that is, the principle of organization for mutual protection and benefit. What society does object to are the vices and injustices which, with increasing power and bad or selfish leadership, have developed in trade-unionism. The resentment and antagonism of society is growing against the breaking of contracts, the limitation of output, the exclusion of apprentices, the indiscriminate protection of inefficient workmen, and the terrorizing by violence of employers, the public, and non-union workmen, all of which are either promoted or winked at by the modern trade unions. Some union leaders openly acknowledge that what they are seeking is not justice but complete mastery of industry. "Capital," they say, "was in the saddle and used the spurs for many years; now that we are in the saddle we mean to use the spurs."

The American public does not tolerate long the idea that it is a beast of burden to be driven now by one private class and now by another for selfish gain. When the capitalists were in the saddle, the public threw them off and made them submit to public regulation. The public did not destroy organizations of capital, but it did incorporate in American organic law the principle that combinations of capital in restraint of trade are illegal and punishable by the courts.

We do not think the public wishes to destroy the trade unions, but there are signs that it is rapidly reaching the frame of mind in which it will insist that workmen shall not combine in restraint of trade as it has already forbidden capitalists to do.

The first step is to insist upon the incorporation of the trade unions, so that they shall have a legal entity, and therefore legal responsibility to the public and to the courts.

ON ENTHUSIASM

SAID the Young-Old Philosopher: "I went through an ancient house the other day—a relic of Civil War times, a place that had been the home of a great man. A guide took us about—an elderly man with engaging manners and the look of one who enjoys his humble work.

"As he escorted us from room to room, and then out into the garden that flamed in the sun, I could not help wondering how he kept his boyish enthusiasm for his task. We were only one party of many thousands who journeyed here every year to see this spot of historical interest. Yet he told the tale, which he had repeated so many times, with all the ardor of a youth making a valedictory address, and I was sure—though I really don't know, after all—that he put in, for us, certain words that were to his sprightly address what garnishing is to a dish of meat; phrases that heightened the picture he was painting and added a tang and spice to the *plat du jour*.

"How often he had led people through those dingy halls, up those creaking stairways, and pointed out the bed the great man had slept in, and drawn attention to the autograph letters, the chandeliers of unbelievable beauty, the wall-paper of fantastic and rare design, and then gone into the kitchen to show the pots and pans in which the Negro slaves had cooked the master's dinner! With no signs of *ennui* he went over the lovely legends of that still haunted house—not in a dull sing-song, which is the way of so many professional cicerones—but in variegated keys, feelingly, refreshingly young for all his seventy-odd years. I wondered how he could do it, living there alone, apart from the world, seldom going away on a journey, sleeping literally among the whispering pines and whispering relics that he seemed to love so much, as though they were his only passion. No Gregorian chant was his. He had not learned his little lesson by heart simply to jerk it out as so many words to be got rid of as swiftly as possible. No, indeed! He seemed to like to go on little exploring trips with his tale, down byways of history and mystery, in order that the main event might take on fresh luster. He had genuine imagination; and it was that gift of his—priceless above all others—that gave vitality to his story and vigor to his body and brain.

"There is something ghastly to me about any labor which means merely repetition. Machine-made boxes are no less terrible than machine-made phrases; and the pitiful reassertion of something that becomes stale and stark—how can people endure it? Actors will know what I mean. They cannot improvise lines; they must perpetually hammer out the same staccato or obligato sentences—written by some one else. Of course what keeps them going is the thrill and energy of each new audience. They could not endure the strain without this change every evening, and of course they seek to give variety to their performance through the injection of new business now and then. This is not always easy, and too long a run always grates upon a sensitive artist, who would far rather plunge into the magnificent ordeal of a new rôle than parrot-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like, go on saying the same old speeches, however the dollars may roll in.

"A guide's audience is usually a bore. All the more credit to him, then, if he rises royally above his hearers and leads them to a shining thoroughfare that otherwise they would not travel. He becomes not only their guide, but their philosopher and friend; and an enduring compensation awaits so imaginative an instructor.

"To be happy in our daily job—that seems to me the splendid goal all mortals should try to reach; but also to give happiness to others who come to see us at our task—well, that is the supreme wonder in a world that is full of wonder."

THE ACHILLES HEEL OF PROHIBITION

NATIONAL prohibition has not been long on trial. The final effect of the fundamental change in our Constitution involved in the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment has not been, and cannot be, yet determined. All the evidence which we have seen, however, tends to show that the Nation is better off, materially and physically, under prohibition than under the system which permitted the sale of intoxicating beverages. Benefits to be derived from the elimination of the drink traffic did not wait upon our National experiment for demonstration. They have been obvious for centuries in the experience of peoples from whom alcohol has been barred by religious authority. There remains, however, a very serious problem confronting the defenders and advocates of National prohibition. It is the problem of maintaining the respect for law and order and that mental habit of ready acceptance of legal enactments which is one of the strongest bulwarks of applied democracy.

We do not doubt for a minute that the majority of the people of the United States are in favor of National prohibition. Even in great cities where the liquor interests have had their stronghold we suspect that the number of men and women who would vote for National prohibition, were it put to the popular test, is much larger than the "wets" are willing to admit. We say this in order that this editorial may not be considered as an argument for the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment by those who are working for such ends upon premises which we regard as distinctly unsound.

To say that there is a majority in favor of the Amendment does not imply that there is not a large and active minority in favor of its repeal. The greatest problem confronting advocates of National prohibition lies in the fact that this large minority has not accepted the Amendment with that good faith and willing spirit which we have grown to look upon as characteristic of the spirit of the losers in our political controversies. There have been great changes in our Government prior to the enactment of the Prohibition Amendment, but almost invariably these changes, once effective, have been acquiesced in by their most ardent opponents. We are not speaking of individual violators but of the public attitude towards the law.

One of the strongest denunciations of those who have failed to acquiesce in the Eighteenth Amendment was recently voiced by Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Colorado, in a statement to the press. Judge Lindsey said:

> Is the Eighteenth Amendment going to be enforced? At the present time it is not being enforced with any degree of success, but has raised up a trail of evils in its wake which are as bad, if not worse, than those it sought to avoid.
>
> So far the great majority of prosecutions have been against the poor and uninfluential people who are victims of the tremendous temptations afforded by the example of the rich.
>
> Just what do I mean? I mean that the wealthy and more favored class in this country must accept a responsibility which is now being ignored. They must be willing to give up their pleasures and abide by the law intended for the good of all. So far they have not set the example.
>
> The theaters, jokesters, and parodists are encouraged in making a mockery of the Constitution of the United States. When a rich or influential citizen fills his cellars with smuggled liquor and the police are called off, in nearly every case the "conspiracy of the rich" is immediately set in motion. What is this "conspiracy"?
>
> It consists of their influence in reaching officials and suppressing newspaper publicity concerning themselves. So long as some of these officials and some newspapers are lending themselves to this "conspiracy" they are creating class prejudice. An example of this occurred in our city within the past week. A friend of one of our most influential newspapers became involved in a bootlegging case, and was successful in suppressing all mention of it in that particular paper, which pretends to be against this evil.
>
> The greatest need in this country to-day is to abolish "special privileges," and the new "special privilege" which the Eighteenth Amendment has created is the right of the rich to have their booze, while the same right is denied to the poor.

Judge Lindsey's appeal would have been even stronger if in denouncing one form of special privilege he had not laid himself open to the criticism of making a sweeping appeal to class hatred. It is quite true that the rich have a power which springs from their wealth, a power which can be used for their protection both in and out of the courts of law. This power is available not only for violators of the Eighteenth Amendment, but for wealthy offenders against other statutes. It is a power for good, however, as well as for evil, and it is often used for good. Judge Lindsey's language indicts "the" rich; it should have discriminated between those rich who abuse their power and those who do not. As a careful student of American life, moreover, Judge Lindsey should have noted that the abuse of power is not confined to a group of citizens limited by the size of their pocketbooks. The attitude of Americans toward the Eighteenth Amendment is not one which can be measured by a dollars-and-cents standard.

Judge Lindsey has, however, laid his finger upon a moral danger which exists in the widespread levity towards an important section of our National Constitution. The same menace was singled out for warning by Prohibition Commissioner Haynes when he recently said: "One of the greatest dangers now confronting the Republic is that we shall lose our vision of the sanctity and majesty of the law."

How shall we guard ourselves against this menace? The protection cannot be found merely in increased activity of the enforcement officials. It cannot be wholly met by the vigilance of the police. It is a moral danger, and it must be met with moral weapons.

If we turn to the States which experimented with prohibition prior to the enactment of the National Amendment, we shall find precedent an uncertain guide to an understanding of the situation which confronts us. Maine, which had the longest record under prohibition, had almost the poorest record in maintaining respect for its prohibition law. Kansas, on the other hand, after a generation of disturbance and conflict settled down to obedience to the law backed by a wholesome and widespread public opinion.

Will the Nation follow the precedent of Maine or of Kansas? The determination of this all-important fact depends on the sum total of the attitude of our individual citizens towards the maintenance of our fundamental law. It is the right of any one to work for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment if he or she so desires, but it is the bounden duty of every one to see that so long as the Eighteenth Amendment is part of our Constitution it is accorded that respect upon which the whole structure of democratic government rests.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ILLUSIONIST OR IDEALIST?

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE ARMAMENT CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

OVER every such conference as that which, as I write, is about to begin here at Washington there ought to be hung a sign to this effect:

IT IS AGAINST THE RULES
HERE
TO HUG FOND ILLUSIONS

At some places and on some occasions, illusions, to use a phrase in the Century Dictionary, may be "pleasing, harmless, or even useful"—at the theater, for instance, or when reading poetry. But on other occasions they may be more dangerous than poison gas. When, for example, the Russian Revolution became perverted into Bolshevism, illusions took possession of the President, as well as a large part of the people of the United States, and prevented him from even considering certain practical and reasonable measures that were proposed. A few months afterward he became, as he himself acknowledged, disillusioned; but then the harm was done—it was too late. So at Paris illusions were hugged. Not by the old, experienced diplomats, but by a group who were called, and called themselves, idealists. There was the illusion of a "new world order," a sort of Golden Age, to be ushered in by a kind of international proclamation; the illusion that by drawing up a constitution and by-laws a group of men about a green table could establish an era of peace; that the way to secure co-operation among nations was to command it; the illusion that, instead of using the league which already existed, consisting of the nations which had learned to work together as allies in carrying on the war, it was better, even at the risk of virtually breaking up that league, to try to create a league of some new and untried kind; the illusion that fighting in Russia, and Poland, and the Balkans, and elsewhere, while the Peace Conference was in session, could be safely ignored while delegates, and commissions, and experts were working out theoretical plans to deal with some imagined fighting in some undetermined future; the illusion that, because a group of people who acknowledged that they were idealists had drawn up plans which they announced to be high ideals, the people of the United States would gladly abandon their traditions of National sovereignty and involve themselves in an elaborate plan of permanent international engagements.

These illusions led to the neglect of doing certain things that ought to have been done, permitted controversies to grow big which ought to have been settled when they were small, and, instead of cultivating international co-operation, developed suspicion and misunderstanding. Probably most of the material evils that followed the World War could not have been prevented; but the mental evil of pessimism, discouragement, cynical disbelief, could have been prevented if the so-called idealists had distinguished between ideals and illusions. To-day ideals are below par because two years ago idealists persisted in dealing, not with facts, but with unreal visions. I wrote from Paris in February, 1919: "America's idealism must not be allowed to take the form that will tend to delay and inaction. America must not let the effort to get the perfect result prevent the getting of any result at all. America must not let the attempt to get a perfect result even to interfere in getting the result that is needed now." Now we can see that America's idealism did not prevent the getting of any result at all, but it did cause delay and it did prevent getting the result at the time it was most needed. Most of all, American idealism, or rather the illusions of certain impractical American idealists, raised hopes which were not, and neither could nor ought to have been, fulfilled. The Peace Conference at Paris and its product, the Treaty of Versailles, were a great deal better than they were reputed to be; but they were not what people were led to expect they would be. That is nine-tenths of the trouble with the world to-day. All over the world—in America, in the new nations of central and south-eastern Europe, in England, in South Africa, in Germany, and even for a while in realistic France—people were expecting something like a miracle; and when the miracle did not happen, then people all over the world began to say that what had been spent in blood and treasure to protect free peoples from domination had been spent in vain. It was not spent in vain; but the effect on millions of minds was almost the same as if it had been.

The outcome of the war, under all the circumstances, was about what might have been reasonably expected; but illusionists had led people to nourish unreasonable expectations. As a consequence, the victory, which in early 1918 was scarcely hoped for and in late 1918 came to pass, has had some of the mental effects of defeat.

All this has a direct bearing on the Conference to be held here at Washington. From the experience during the Paris Peace Conference the wise will learn to avoid illusions concerning the Washington Armament Conference. It is important that this Conference not only be successful but appear successful. Apparent failure will be only less calamitous than real failure. There is reason to believe that it will succeed; but if it is to succeed the people of this and other countries must not look for the wrong results or impossible results. They must rid themselves of illusions.

One of the illusions that should be got rid of at once is the illusion of disarmament. There's not going to be disarmament as the result of this Conference, and there ought not to be. And yet there are a good many people that are cultivating that illusion—some of them with the best of intentions. There is evident a considerable propaganda for virtual, if not complete, disarmament. Two weekly journals that I know of have adopted a propaganda for disarmament as a part of their policy. What is even more influential in making public opinion, because it makes it unconsciously, is the fact that the newspapers are repeatedly referring to the Conference as a Disarmament Conference, and the question at issue before it as the question of disarmament. Some even are going so far as to say that, if we cannot get all nations to disarm, the United States alone, of itself, without regard to what any other nation may do, should proceed to disarm entirely—to the last man and the last ship. Back of this propaganda are arguments that appeal to fear—the terror of poison gas, of bombs from the air, of increasingly destructive explosives—and arguments that appeal to the pocketbook of the business man and the taxpayer. That is all illusion. The result of this Conference is not going to be disarmament by any nation or any group of nations. I am not here arguing the merits of disarmament as a theory, I am simply saying that it cannot result from this Conference. To expect it is to hug an illusion; and to lead others to expect it is to put the brand of failure upon the Conference in advance. Whatever good comes out of the Conference should not be impaired by comparing it with something different—possibly better, but impossible.

There are two reasons why disarmament is impossible; one is psychological, the other physical. It is psychologically impossible because there are masses of men, some ignorant and savage, who covet what others possess or who fear that others covet what they possess, and as long as they remain covetous or fearful, or savage and ignorant, the rest of the world must be armed. Even the League of Nations was not to consist of disarmed nations, but of nations ready, and under certain circumstances pledged, for war. The physical reason is even more conclusive. To-day instruments of war, among them some of the most deadly, can be almost improvised, while

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defense against them cannot be. That means that under a régime of disarmament the aggressive nation would have a great advantage. The nation with a fleet of commercial airplanes and airships, with a great merchant marine and a highly organized chemical industry, could let loose a war inconceivable in destructiveness against a disarmed neighbor. Modern implements of warfare are almost as available to the modern man as sticks and stones to the cave man.

Disarmament is neither practicable nor desirable. Those who are looking or hoping for disarmament from this Conference had better dismiss it from their minds at once. It is better to be disillusioned before than after the fact.

Another illusion is that the most pressing and important object before the Conference is the immediate and great reduction of armaments. Desirable as that might be from many points of view, it is not the first thing to be accomplished and it may not be accomplished at all. From the American point of view, there is much to be said in favor of standing pat for the present. Until some other questions are settled it might be a serious mistake to reduce our present rate of naval construction. If in 1910 or 1912 Britain had reduced her naval construction, even though Germany had agreed to do likewise, would it have been well for the world? I doubt it. There were other things to be settled first—things that might conceivably have been settled at just such a Conference as this. They weren't. They were settled by the worst war in history and the best, the most unjustifiable and the most justifiable. And, since they had to be settled in some way, and were settled by war, it was well that Britain's navy was not reduced. Note, please, that I am not saying navies ought not to be reduced, but that before they are reduced it is best to settle some questions first; and of course we prefer to have such questions settled by conference than by war.

One of these questions is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. What does it mean? It may be thoroughly well understood by England and equally well understood by Japan; but it is not perfectly clear to all Americans. What I think of it does not matter; it may seem all right to me, but that is of no consequence. What matters is what this nation knows about it. That had better be cleared up first. On paper our navy looks much more formidable than Japan's, and on the way to becoming superior to Britain's, but, as every American ought to know, and as Hector Bywater has shown in his recent book on "Sea Power in the Pacific," our navy is ill balanced, our natural naval bases in the Pacific are undeveloped, and we should be likely to suffer severe reverses, at least at first, in any war with a naval Power that had bases in the western Pacific. The disadvantages from which we should suffer, even supposing our present naval programme should go through, would be enhanced by a general reduction of naval armaments.

At the same time, to be fair, we must recognize the fact that Japan is uneasy when she thinks of our naval power, and more uneasy when she thinks of our making our naval bases at Guam and the Philippines (near her) really effective, or even Guam alone; and she may not want to reduce even in conjunction with us until she is surer of our policy. Of course Japan is putting the question of reducing armaments to the front, and would like to keep the discussion of Far Eastern questions in the background. There are good reasons for that. Japan is a late comer into the Far Eastern game. For two centuries she was so cut off from the rest of the world that she knew nothing about the progress that other nations had made. Her rulers did not even know what the duties and rank of a Minister sent from one country to another were or what was meant by international law. She had succeeded in living almost absolutely apart from the world. Then, when she emerged, she had to learn about commerce, science, colonization, and war from the beginning. Her experience with America was happy. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry and Townsend Harris, the one who reintroduced her to the world and the other who served as her first tutor, happily represented the best spirit of America. But her experience with other countries saved her from illusions about the world she was rediscovering. She learned very early that a demand is very much more carefully heeded when it is backed by force. She was a good pupil of England that had obtained Hongkong after the opium war, of France that had obtained Annam, of Russia that had secured a foothold in Manchuria. And when her turn came she followed the precedents that had been set her. At the Peace Conference at Paris she recited her lesson very well. She saw that Italy, whose threats could not be backed by force, appealed in vain to the American President to fulfill the promises of her allies, but that she herself, who had forces unimpaired, could make the same appeal with success. What she has in the islands of the Pacific, in China, and in Manchuria and Korea she has obtained by methods which Western Powers had already indorsed by using them.

Naturally, now she does not want to have the Far Eastern questions raised too prominently—at least at first. She would rather have armaments reduced all around. That would perhaps make her possessions a little more secure. Besides, her naval expenditures are straining her resources. She cannot stand the expense as the United States can. She is devoting a much larger proportion of the national expenditures to the navy than the United States is. She had much rather leave those perplexing questions of the Far East to another time and get the matter of naval reductions settled first. And she is going to take advantage of all the American sentiment in favor of naval reductions. I do not think she expects to reduce the navies at once, but I think she would be glad to help turn the attention of the American people to the thought of naval reductions and away from the questions of the Far East. I do not like to compare Japan with Germany, because I think her spirit is different; but I think that the same logic which led the Germans to encourage pacifism in other countries before the war appeals to the alert minds of the Japanese in emphasizing the limitation or reduction of armaments. I doubt whether the Japanese are themselves under the illusion that that is the immediate and pressing problem of the Conference; and I do not believe that any Americans ought to be under that illusion, either.

Britain, too, like Japan, is more interested in reducing armaments than we are because armament is a heavier burden to Britain proportionately to the present resources of the nation than to us; and Britain, too, like Japan, is not eager to have the title to present foreign possessions in Asia, and specifically in China, questioned. But Britain has her dominions to consider, and she is not going to hug the illusion that the limitation or reduction of armaments will alone, or even chiefly, establish those international relations that will enable the great nations involved to settle their mutual problems by peaceful means.

The central problem at this Conference is not a problem of armament; that is secondary. Armament is merely a tool devised to deal with the central problem. Unless that central problem is solved in some other way it will be attacked by armaments of some kind. That central problem is the clashing interests of the Powers in the East. To state it in one word, it is China. Enormous vested interests bulwarked by the arms, military and naval, of a group of nations are established in Asia and the Pacific. The owners of those vested interests are not voluntarily going to withdraw. If any one nation or group of nations should gain a preponderance of influence or control, that nation or group would dominate the world. Germany and Russia are not always going to remain in a state of coma. It is conceivable, as I have pointed out in preceding articles, that Japan, Russia, and Germany might form such a group. At present there is no such group, though the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is the nearest existing approach to it. The history of China for the past eighty years is the history of the competition between the European Powers, later joined by Japan, for the resources and markets of this portion of the world. In all these years the United States has declined to join in that rivalry for the exploitation of the Orient except by the legitimate and peaceful methods of trade and diplomacy. Even Hawaii and the Philippines are not exceptions, for they came under American rule in the one case by the will of the people and in the other case as an unforeseen chance. Never has the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States even thought of depriving China of the right over any of her own possessions, and never extorted from Japan any concession by even the threat of the use of force. It is with the United States that the doctrine of the open door originated. When the United States shared with other nations an indemnity for damages incurred in Japan, the Government of the United States received its share of the money but paid it back; and it did the same in the case of China. Individual Americans have undoubtedly been offenders in the Orient, but not the Nation.

Now is the time for America, Japan, and the Powers of Europe, sobered by the experience of the World War, unembarrassed by either a Czarist Russia or a Prussianized Germany, to face this problem of Asia and the Pacific anew, to see whether for inconsiderate competition they cannot substitute some kind of co-operation, to secure jointly for legitimate commerce in the Far East, in spite of inefficiency and corruption in China, some sort of order and safety, and provide for the Chinese and other peoples of the East a chance for self-development.

There lies the chief task of this Conference. If it is not done, reduction of armaments, or even disarmament, will not avail; if it is done, a reduction of armaments, great as it might be, would be a minor achievement. In that task there is no place for the illusionist; but for that task no one is fit who, however much a realist he may be, is not an idealist as well.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

WHO IS MY BROTHER?

CONTINUALLY I repeat in these pages my understanding of life: It is a school; not only each individual passes through babyhood, youth, manhood, and old age, then graduates from earth to continue elsewhere his incompleted education, but the race also is being educated, and for each epoch a new lesson is appointed by the Great Teacher. The lesson this generation is directed to learn is the meaning of Human Brotherhood.

The questions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to most of the men and women who constitute our Christian congregations questions no longer. That there is one God not many gods, that he is a righteous Person, that he demands righteousness of his children and demands nothing else, and that he will help them to become righteous if they desire his help, are truths that still have to be taught to backward people and to children; but, at least to many of us, they have become axioms. The creeds which affirm them are not antiquated or obsolete. They are the habits of our thought. But what is meant by the saying that we are all brethren we have not learned. It is a phrase full of meaning, but what the meaning is we do not know. The problems of our time, the problems which really command our attention and absorb our thought, are not theological; they are problems of brotherhood.

The slavery question, the immigration question, the educational question, the temperance question, the labor question, the international question, can all be reduced to this: What are the right relations between men of different races, languages, employments, education, intelligence, and temperaments? Put upon this globe to live together, grow up together, work and play together, how can they live and grow and work and play together peacefully and happily?

Some of the old barriers have disappeared, others are disappearing. We have bridged the ocean and tunneled the mountains and now we fly through the air.

Migration has become easy. The Chinese and the Japanese are no longer curiosities in our streets; we are daily becoming less like curiosities in theirs.

Industry marshals us in companies and regiments, and we have discovered or are discovering that we cannot serve ourselves except by serving our fellowmen.

Personality is losing its limitations. One can speak in New York and be heard in Chicago; one can write a message in New York and, almost before he has finished writing, it can be read in Hongkong.

Language is the coin by which ideas are interchanged. The universal language makes no great progress; but if one is fairly familiar with two languages—the English and the French—he can travel with comfort throughout the civilized world, and the best literature of other lands is generally translated into English or French or into both.

Trade, commerce, industry, are developing common interests and are creating brotherhoods to promote them. These local brotherhoods are throwing into the scrap-heap the motto of a purely selfish individualism: "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." These local brotherhoods, guilds, trade unions, associations, are beginning to study the problems of how these class brotherhoods, formerly organized for war, can be converted into instruments of peace and co-operate in promoting the common welfare.

Churchmen no longer think it necessary to prove their love for the Lord by their hatred for each other. Churches which two centuries ago were fighting each other to the death are now cordially co-operating in a common campaign against a common enemy.

The latest development in this world-wide movement toward brotherhood is internationalism; and the latest development in internationalism is the Conference of the great nations now being held in Washington to consider the limitation of armaments. Their problem is a very difficult one. There is no general principle which can be laid down that is applicable to all nations. Switzerland needs no navy. Great Britain needs a large navy, for she has to protect Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa. America needs no larger army than is necessary to fulfill her Constitutional obligations to the States, and she is in no danger of invasion from her neighbors. France needs a large army, for her neighbor who in 1914 entered upon an unprovoked war resolved, in the words of one of her military leaders, "so to crush France that she can never cross our path again," has given no indication of any change of mind.

But the war has taught one lesson which even the dullest ought to be able to perceive. There is and can be no dominant race. Neither Teutonic, nor Slavic, nor Latin, nor Anglo-Saxon, nor Chinese, nor Japanese, can rule the world. There must be in the world a brotherhood of nations as in the nation there is a brotherhood of individuals, and in some nations a brotherhood of free though not independent communities.

Jesus condemned the Pharisees because they could not discern the signs of the times. It seems to me that the signs of the times indicate to all religious teachers the topic for the time. It is Brotherhood. What does brotherhood mean?

What does it mean between brothers and sisters in the same family?

What does it mean between capitalist and laborer in the same industry?

What does it mean between the ignorant and the educated, the rich and the poor, the criminal and the virtuous, in the same community?

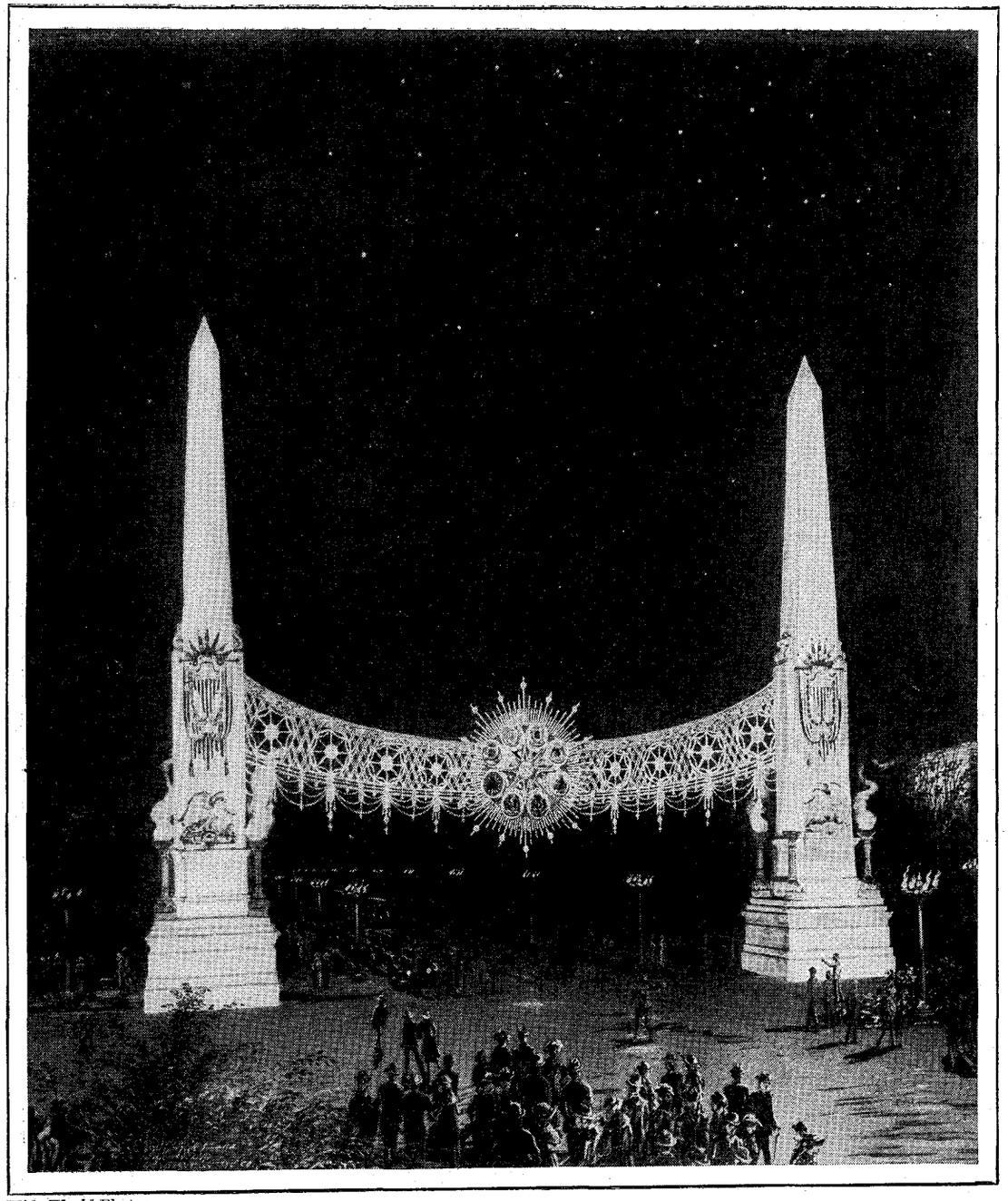
What does it mean between foreign-born and native-born, Afro-American and Anglo-Saxon, red man and white man in the same nation?

What does it mean between different nations in the same world?

Any religious teacher who can find in his Bible, or in his study of past history, or in the study of the life about him, any light on this fundamental problem of our time, and can give that light to his hearers, sanely, soberly, clearly, and with the interest of a real truth-seeker, will find himself listened to by a not indifferent congregation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION'S WELCOME



Wide World Photos

THE JEWELED PORTAL FOR THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

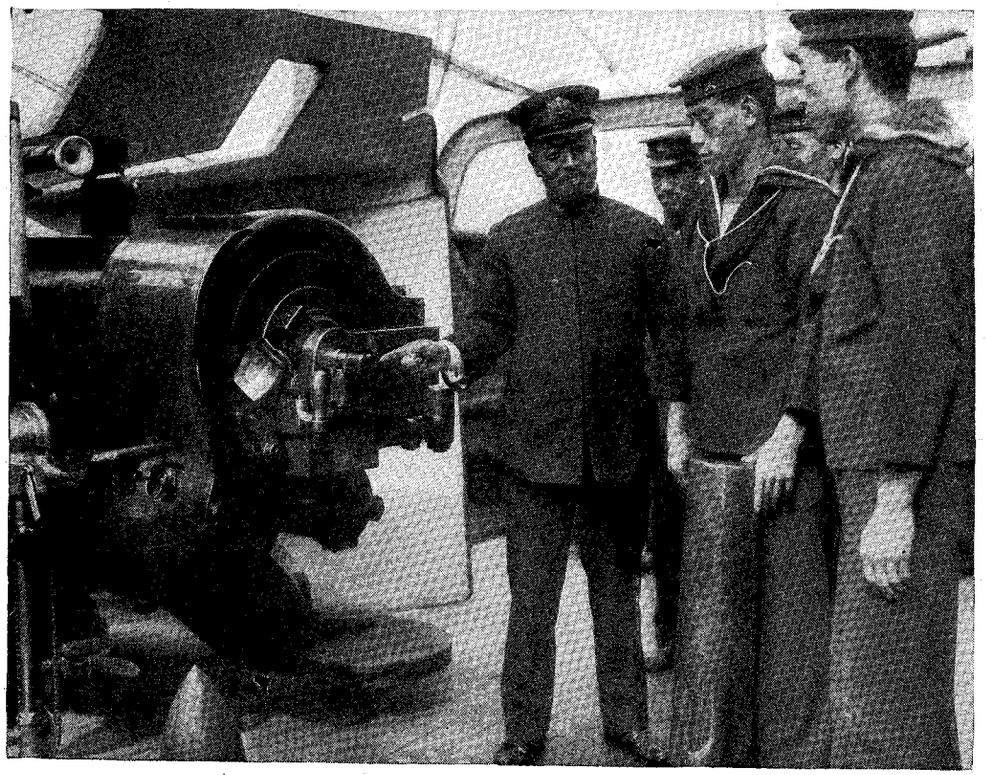
Terminating the Avenue of Light and forming a brilliant approach to the building where the Conference will hold its sessions, this archway constituted the main feature of a great illumination on the occasion of the assembling of the Conference. The two obelisks are 85 feet high and are finished in travertine. The jeweled curtain or necklace suspended between them stretches a distance of over 86 feet. It consists of many thousands of Novagen jewels in all colors. The central sunburst contains the national flags and coats of arms of the eight visiting nations—Belgium, China, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, and Portugal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

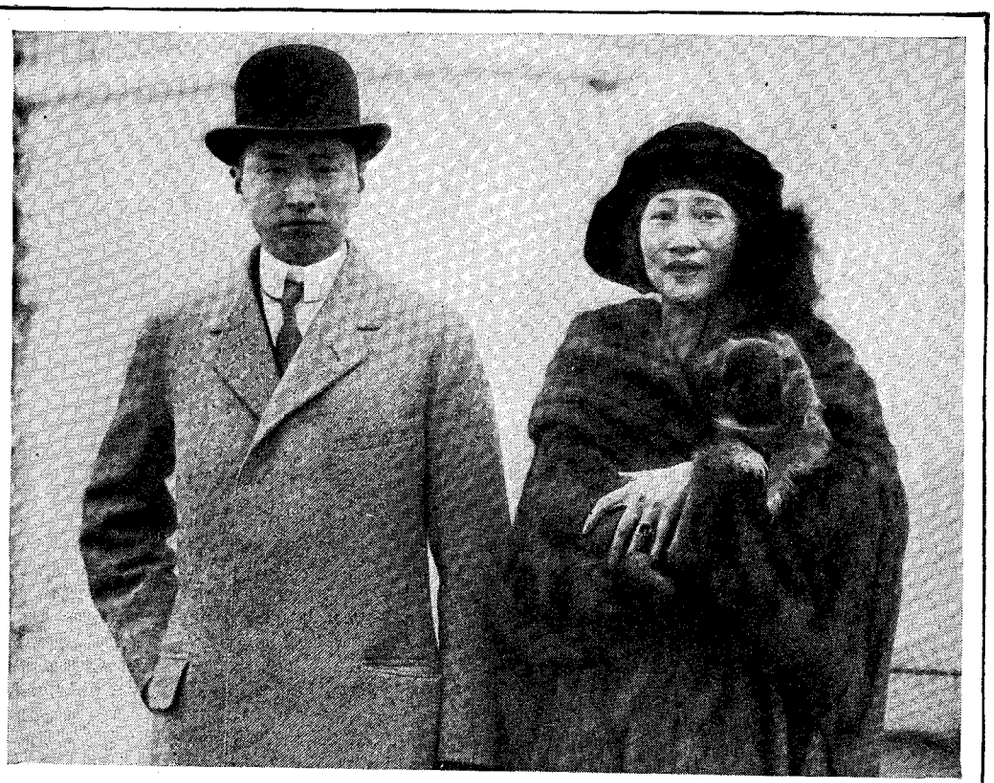
AND THE NATION'S GUESTS

VISITING JAPANESE CRUISERS IN NEW YORK HARBOR

Two Japanese cruisers, Izumo and Yakumo, are in American waters. The picture shows Commander Takida, of the Yakumo, telling some of his men about the mechanism of the six-inch guns



(C) Keystone



(C) Paul Thompson

DR. WELLINGTON KOO, CHINESE MINISTER TO GREAT BRITAIN

Dr. Koo comes as one of the Chinese delegation to the Conference at Washington

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FAR EAST AND THE CONFERENCE

BY KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

D. WILLIS JAMES PROFESSOR OF MISSIONS IN YALE UNIVERSITY

IT is becoming increasingly apparent that the Conference on Disarmament will be largely concerned with Far Eastern problems, and that the success of the gathering will depend in no small degree upon the extent to which these are satisfactorily adjusted. It is therefore of prime importance for Americans to consider thoughtfully what hope there is of the assembly arriving at a just and acceptable settlement and what efforts must be made to supplement its labors if its work is not to fail. Probably no more important questions will engage us for the next decade, for, as we have been repeatedly warned, upon a permanent reduction of armaments and the substitution of peaceful diplomacy for war may depend the continued existence of our present civilization. The problems of the Pacific have come to be bound up inextricably with the future of the race.

Before we build too many hopes upon the Washington Conference we need to remind ourselves of the complexity of the Far Eastern situation. There is the now familiar problem of an expanding, young Japan, with a population more than half that of the United States, confined to a group of beautiful but relatively unproductive islands about the size of California, to a neighboring peninsula, and to leased territories and spheres of influence in China. This people is moved both by ambition and necessity to territorial and commercial expansion. Could it be sure of a continued open door to the natural resources and markets of China, its needs might temporarily be met. But there always lurks in the background the question of whether, when her huge neighbor becomes industrialized, Japan can continue to be the manufacturing and commercial center of the Far East, or whether, forced to import her iron, her cotton, and much of her coal, she will not sink to a place of secondary importance before a new China which has all of these immediately at hand. Then there is China, possessed of vast natural resources and of a hard-working and able but backward population, potentially one of the greatest markets and industrial centers of the world. Weakened by a Government which is little better than anarchy, she is inevitably a breeding-ground of international rivalries and intrigues, and unless some means is found of pooling or otherwise peaceably adjusting these conflicting interests she will, until she establishes a stable government, rival the Balkans and the Near East as a center for diplomatic crises and wars. The problem is complicated by the disorganization in Siberia, the uncertainty of the future of Russia, the annoying suspicions between the United States and Japan, commercial rivalries in the Pacific basin, the Shantung question, the strained relations between Chinese and Japanese, the undetermined future of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Yap controversy, and the irritation arising from the attitude of California, Canada, and Australia toward Japanese immigration.

In a situation so complex and having its origin in such fundamental economic, political, and racial conditions, it would be expecting too much of any body of men to demand that they arrive at a complete and final adjustment. To ask that would be to demand the impossible. The situation is of such a nature that there must be friction and misunderstanding for decades and possibly centuries. No gathering of any nature, no matter how harmonious and how earnest in seeking a basis for mutual confidence and disarmament, can hope at this time to say the last word. The problems are not of the kind that can be settled by a single set of conventions or agreements. They are indeed of the sort that in the past have caused long series of wars, like the weary years of conflict between Carthage and Rome and between France and England. At the most, all that we can expect is the temporary removal of the differences that are most acute, and either the provision for some body or bodies through which difficulties can be adjusted in the future—possibly an alliance of the chief Powers concerned, a new association of nations, or a strengthened financial consortium—or the wholehearted agreement to refer them to some existing body, as, for example, the League of Nations.

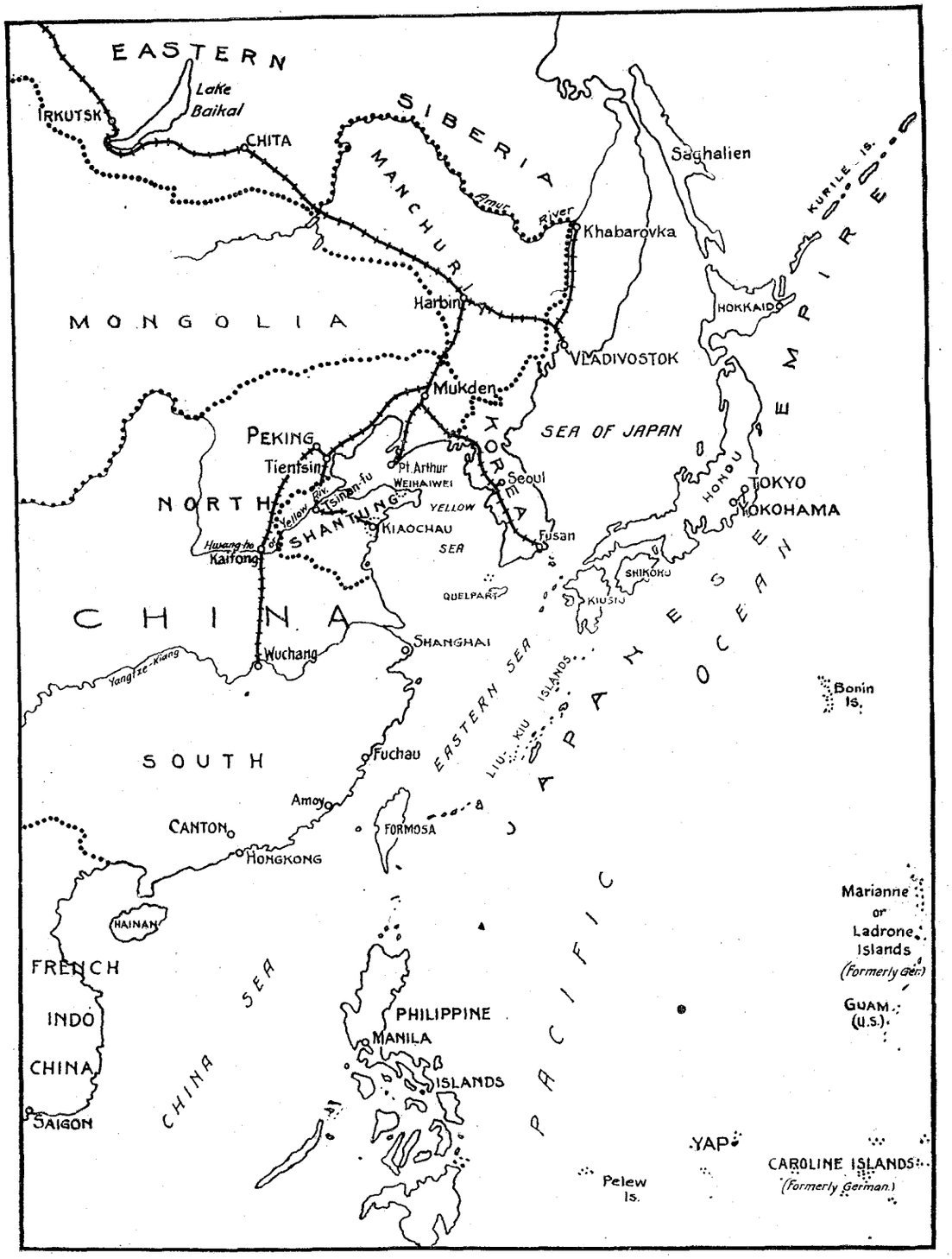
Neither should we expect that the Conference will remove those deep-seated prejudices and suspicions which are making so large a contribution to the tension in the Pacific basin. These are in part the product of misinformation, ignorance, and sensational journalism, in part the result of conflicting interests and ambitions, and in part the outcome of divergent national characteristics, methods of thought, mannerisms, ideals, and institutions. It is when peoples are in the frame of mind produced by prolonged emphasis upon such differences that trivial incidents assume large proportions and lead to strain or war. When two nations have come to regard themselves as implacable rivals and their cultures as mutually abhorrent and dangerous, almost any incident may so be believed to involve national honor that foreign offices and diplomats will find themselves powerless to prevent a resort to arms. In the face of the kind of prejudice that exists in so many quarters between Japan and the United States and between Japan and China, no more can reasonably be expected of the Disarmament Conference than that it will so arrange the most pressing controversies that the ground may be more favorable and the time prolonged for the working of those slower economic, religious, educational, and political agencies by which the attitude of one people toward another is altered. Even so modest an achievement will be made difficult by existing prejudices, for diplomats as well as the masses are subject to them, and, while outwardly correct in their relations, find it far from easy to see one another's difficulties in that magnanimous spirit which is prerequisite to settlements that are relatively satisfactory and permanent.

Impossible as it will be, however, for the Conference to effect any final adjustment of all differences, and difficult as it will be for it to arrive at even a temporary settlement, much can be hoped and justly expected of it. Often, even in the brief course of our own history, diplomacy has been successful in easing a situation and in reaching a compromise which has lessened friction and averted war. Thus the Jay Treaty, unpopular though it was, combined with other factors to prevent for the time being hostilities between this country and Great Britain. The agreement on the Oregon boundary and the handling of the Trent affair are only two among several other occasions in which diplomacy settled differences that might well have led to war. Diplomats are not always as futile or as bent on war as many would have us believe. The Washington gathering can reasonably be asked to meet its problems with sufficient success to make possible at least some degree of disarmament and a working basis for increasing good will.

The Conference will face specifically certain concrete problems on which some kind of understanding will be distinctly necessary. Just what that agreement will or should be it would be impossible, and even presumptuous, to predict. It will often have to be reached through compromises which will not be entirely satisfactory to any of the parties concerned and whose details admit of wide variation. The main outline of the questions to which the Conference must give some kind of answer can, however, be rather quickly indicated.

There must, first of all, be some adjustment of differences over China. This will not be easy to arrive at, for the conflicting interests are many. The Chinese delegation will probably, if it feels that it has any chance of success, ask that the Shantung question be reopened, unless, indeed, Japan succeeds previously in offering a settlement that China will accept. Since China did not sign and the United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, there would be at least some basis for the claim that Japan lacks a clear title to the former German holdings. The Chinese may also ask that at least parts of the con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE FAR EAST—A STORM CENTER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

cessions wrung from them by Japan in 1915 be canceled and that they be given some safeguard in the future against the aggressions of their island neighbor and of other foreign Powers. They may possibly request that steps be taken toward the removal of extra-territoriality and its attendant system of concessions in the treaty ports, and for a modification of the tariff. In all except their protest against extraterritoriality they will have the sympathy, and possibly the support, of the American delegates. On the other hand, Japan will probably endeavor to keep out of the Conference as finally settled and as a matter of private concern to herself and China both the Shantung issue and her gains of 1915. It is highly unfortunate that Japan did not see her way clear to return the Shantung properties on terms acceptable to China before the calling of the Conference led her to take action. She can hardly take such a step at this time or during the Conference without loss of prestige, and yet if she is to win that good will of China which is so necessary to her ultimate well-being she must some time find a way of yielding gracefully. On the Shantung issue England, France, and Italy will probably be inclined to side with Japan, for to do otherwise would discredit a Treaty to which they are all parties and in whose enforcement they are all interested. There will probably come up, too, the future of the Consortium, the preservation of the integrity of China, and the assurance of an equality of opportunity in the investment of capital and in access to China's markets and raw materials. To all of these policies the United States is definitely committed. All are, indeed, associated with her name and initiative. Will she be able to win for them more than the formal assent of the other Powers? Will the Consortium become in fact an international enterprise

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and not a thinly disguised American undertaking? Will Japan give to it her consent without reservations, and can British and French capitalists be induced to take a substantial part in financing it? Will the "Open Door" and "the territorial integrity of China" become something more than high-sounding but hollow phrases? The conventions of the past that guaranteed these have not been without their value, but they need to be reinforced by some mechanism for making them effective. Can some machinery be devised for doing this and for safeguarding China until she can stand on her own feet? Will this be found in an enlargement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which will include the United States, France, and possibly other Powers, and which will take over the functions of the Consortium; will there arise a new "association of nations;" or will the delegation of the United States find it advisable to recommend to the Senate that we enter the existing League and depend on it for justice to China? Whatever answer is given to these questions, the problem of China is the most important that will confront the Conference, and upon the steps taken toward its solution will depend the permanence of its work for the Far East, and probably for disarmament.

The Conference will, moreover, be confronted with the problem of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Since the question is in a sense the private concern of the two nations whose name it bears, it may be held not to be subject to consideration by a body in which other Governments are represented. The agreement is, however, to continue for at least another year, and, since the Powers against whom it was once directed have for the time ceased to be a menace, there has been in this country a widespread feeling that if further extended it will be in the nature of a threat to the United States. Under these circumstances, any conference on disarmament must take cognizance of the Alliance. In the present state of affairs in the Far East and in the existing uncertainty of the future of Germany and Russia, both the Japanese and British Governments may feel it wise to cling to an agreement which affords some measure of support to each other's interests. For the success of disarmament, however, either the Alliance must be enlarged and this country, among others, be included (perhaps bringing with us the Consortium which we have sponsored), or specific and satisfactory assurances must be given us that Japan and Great Britain will not use it to cloak a combination against us.

The question of eastern Siberia and of the Russian interests in northern Manchuria will be at least in the background and may possibly concern the Conference directly. In the present chaotic condition of Russia any final alienation of these properties from their recent owners would seem to be distinctly premature. It would hardly do to give eastern Siberia to Japan, or even to turn over the Chinese Eastern Railway unreservedly to China. Perhaps some arrangement for international supervision can be devised which will hold these in trust until Russia has had time more nearly to find herself.

The Conference will probably be called upon to decide the status of Yap. The island has for the time being had an exaggerated emphasis placed on it owing to the loss of prestige that would be suffered by whichever Power first yields. It is to be hoped that differences over the future of this cable station will not be allowed to jeopardize the success of the gathering. Better the loss of prestige by one or both Powers than the failure of the Conference.

Not so easily disposed of will be the question of the treatment of Japanese in this country. While of distinctly less importance than the future of China, it is hardly necessary to say that it is a thorny problem, made more so by the prejudices and misunderstandings to which the controversy and the legislation of the past few years have given rise. Tokyo probably will not, and certainly cannot reasonably, demand that Japanese laborers be admitted to this country in unlimited numbers. Were our present form of limitation on immigration to be continued, no special arrangements with Japan would probably be necessary, and even the gentlemen's agreement could be allowed to lapse. In the uncertainty surrounding the future of our immigration laws, however, some kind of convention to restrict or prohibit immigration will probably be necessary and entirely agreeable to both countries. The questions of the dual allegiance of American-born Japanese, of the naturalization of Japanese immigrants, and of the ownership and rental of lands by Japanese subjects all require adjustment and should come before the Conference either for decision or for reference to some commission.

The situation in the Far East will be distinctly improved if some agreement can be reached for progressive and substantial decrease in naval armaments, and if this can be attained the tension will be greatly eased. If, moreover, out of the gathering there should come a new and more effective association of nations or if the United States can see her way clear to enter the existing League, the situation will be still more improved. Certainly a permanent body to which future differences can be automatically referred is greatly needed. We cannot too frequently remind ourselves that the problems of the Far East are too complex to be adjusted at any one gathering. It is highly dangerous to leave them for settlement to the ordinary channels of diplomacy or even to special conferences called to meet crises. Sad experience has proved that these agencies, while they may help, are at best uncertain and crude. Fully recognized, regularly constituted and permanent machinery is needed for the settlement of such questions as they arise, and that machinery some such body as an association of nations or the League seems best fitted to provide.

We must, moreover, remind ourselves again and again that diplomacy, international conferences, or a league of nations must, if any of them is to be effective, have back of them the support of an intelligent public opinion. Prejudice and ignorance make their work difficult and at times impossible. Diplomacy can, in fact, merely supplement and take advantage of the hidden forces that make for peace or war. If the Conference at Washington is to succeed in preparing the way for permanent peace, there must be persistent, widespread effort to establish intelligent good will among the peoples that border the Pacific. American educators must see that in our schools and colleges special courses are offered on the Far East which will in a scholarly way present these neighbors as they are, with their excellencies and perplexities as well as their faults, and they must also see that existing courses in geography and history devote more attention to them. Our educational institutions have up to this time been grossly derelict in their duty of giving their students a well-rounded view of the world, and all too frequently are in their outlook on the human race two generations behind the times. Exchange professorships should be increased and fostered. Americans should greatly reinforce the Christian missionary enterprise in China and Japan, for, on the whole, with all its faults, there is no greater agency for mutual sympathy and broad-minded understanding. We should endeavor to see that students and travelers from the Orient who are in our midst are received with courtesy and hospitality, and not, as is so often the case, ignored or treated with contempt. In our business relations we ought, through Government regulation and private initiative, to insist upon honesty and fair dealing and a high type of man to represent our firms. Tourist travel in the Far East should be encouraged, particularly for the more thoughtful and observing of Americans. Some way must be found to improve the tone in which many of our newspapers address themselves to the Far Eastern situation. We shall, in other words, make a grave mistake if, with our American impetuosity and belief in the power of assemblies and legislation, we throw ourselves for the time into the Conference and then, when it is over, allow ourselves to believe that we have settled everything and can forget the questions with which it has dealt. And what must be done in the United States by Americans must, *mutatis mutandis*, also be done in Japan and China by Japanese and Chinese. No matter how immediately successful the Conference may be, there must be a continuous effort to make the various agencies through which the peoples of the Pacific touch one another, channels for accurate knowledge of one another, and not only for knowledge, but for tolerance and good will.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELIHU ROOT—A STUDY OF THE MAN AND HIS WAYS

BY ANDREW TEN EYCK

A CERTAIN lawyer, who had often met Elihu Root in the practice of his profession, interested me one evening in the smoking-room of a transatlantic liner by the remark that Mr. Root took hold of the case when the papers were ready. "Let me have all the papers." Then in the quiet of his office he evolved the solution that should win in court. This man said that Mr. Root works like a mathematician with intricate problems: he detaches the situation first, then solves it; that his legal acumen is something more than business ability or legal knowledge.

The success Mr. Root achieved twenty years ago as a lawyer in handling difficult problems of big business is remembered. At the age when most men of the first caliber have either made or unmade a public career through previous service in politics he obtained the Government of the United States, as it were, for his client. Then great constructive accomplishments began to appear. He reorganized the United States Army; created the General Staff; devised and drafted the Platt Amendment for Cuba; wrote every word of the organic law of the Philippines; inaugurated a foreign policy toward Latin America—a thing which had not existed since the days of Blaine. It was Mr. Root who prevented Japan from reaping the full fruits of victory over Russia, just as he had prevented England from remaining in China after the Boxer crisis by accepting the Czar's proposal to withdraw. Mr. Roosevelt's appraisement of these things, which in the heat of a partisan campaign he did not amend, was: "The greatest man that has arisen on either side of the Atlantic in my lifetime."

The words which my fellow-counselor and traveler spoke of Mr. Root's *modus operandi* have some pertinency as he joins the Washington Conference on limitation of armaments and the threatening problems of the Pacific and Far East. "Let me see all the papers. Let us get these difficulties out where we can look at them. That is the first thing to do." When Mr. Root came over to London a year ago last July from The Hague, I spent part of an afternoon with him. It was in his suite at Claridge's. Henry White was there. Mr. Root was fresh from The Hague, where he had been sitting for a month in conference. He remarked how hard it was in international conference to get the papers out where one can work at them. "The difficulty is not with principles," he said, "but with understanding each other through the barriers to communication which different ways of thinking and feeling present. It is another country, another language, another literature, another custom, and sometimes a great many, that you have to deal with. One learns quickly there that respect for the feelings and prejudices of others is the condition for having one's own feelings and prejudices respected. That is the problem of diplomacy."

We had known in London of Mr. Root's conference with Lord Phillimore when he first arrived in England on his way to The Hague. Mr. Root believes in having a plan—not a too comprehensive plan, but a working plan. He points to one cause of the failure at Paris as the lack of a plan. When he walked down the gangplank at Plymouth, he carried in his pocket a scheme for the Permanent Court of Justice. He conferred with Lord Phillimore. The merit of the Root plan which was adopted was its avoidances of the pitfall of the Hague Tribunal for Arbitration in the manner of selecting judges. The testimony of its merit is the now complete panel of judges for the International Court of Justice selected by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Root psychology has, perhaps, the inherent limitation of the defects of its virtue. Detachment of view for solution of problems in politics creates suspicion. It does not produce the conviction of impartiality that it should. "There must be something behind or hidden in this ideal Constitution," said a great enough number of people to defeat the adoption of the proposed Constitution in New York in 1915. "He is not one of us," said emissaries in Russia in 1917 before the Root mission arrived. "He would make the best President, but Taft is the best candidate," said Mr. Roosevelt.

And yet he enjoys a position in England not unlike that of Bryce in America. He declined the proffered headship of the International Court of Justice. He is spoken of throughout Europe in the equivalent of the phrase of Roosevelt: "The greatest man on either side of the Atlantic." Lord Bryce said to me: "Your greatest Secretary of State since Webster, the greatest brain you have."

It has been said of Mr. Root that he is aloof and unimaginative. I do not agree. The manner in which he goes about the solution of problems may suggest aloofness. But he will talk to you and intimate what is going on in his mind—more than you may advisedly repeat. He seeks your view-point. He is sociable. His imagination is that of the mathematician rather than the poet. It is the vision of a constructive worker. He has always followed the lure of great problems in business and in public office. Of the possibilities in statesmanship that have come to him he has selected to wrestle with those that appealed to the imagination: a code judicial for the Philippines, an ideal Constitution for the State of New York, a mission to aid a limitless country like Russia, the scheme for the International Court of Justice. Now that the Court is in being, the routine work of its headship would waste and dull the strength of his remaining years. There is not allurement in such work for Mr. Root's constructive imagination. But there is in the part he is to take in the Washington Conference. That is why he has taken it.

I talked with Mr. Root on the eve of his journey to Washington to see Mr. Harding. He was impressed with what Lord Bryce had said to him at Williamstown about the people in America having more interest in foreign affairs than those in England. He said to me that he believed it was a true observation, and asked my opinion. "I do not suppose," said Mr. Root, "that until recent years foreign affairs have enlisted the slightest interest on the part of the people of the United States. We must get rid of that feeling which exists so widely throughout the world and that Bret Harte describes in one of his books—the feeling that exists in a village to which a stranger comes, and the people look upon him as having the defect of being a foreigner. We need a certain international-mindedness."

I asked Mr. Root if it was sound to say that questions of armament can be considered only in connection with those issues because of which nations take up arms, and that therefore it follows that the coming Conference should first vitally concern itself with such issues. "Decidedly yes," was the answer that he made. "That is fundamental, more fundamental than is apparent."

The significance of Mr. Root's observation is best appreciated in reading the reports which were recently handed to the League of Nations at Geneva on the status of armaments in each country. One year ago the Powers agreed to a continuous armament reduction. Nothing was said about those problems that make for war. The records are now in, and prove the direct method of Geneva a confessed failure. The great signatory Powers—Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy—refused not only to reduce armament but even to report on existing status. On one pretext or another the burden of armament has constantly increased. Let us see if Washington will do better. At least it deserves credit for the frankness of addressing itself not only to technical questions of armament but to those persistent problems that threaten the peace of the world.

Mr. Root believes the coming Conference will be our way into a working world co-operative arrangement. I think I may say that it is his hope that there will grow out of the Washington Conference a permanent Association of Nations for conference which will include the United States and all other civilized Powers. Perhaps there is some intimation of the weight he gives to technical disarmament in what he once said of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the provisions of the League Covenant bearing on the limitation of armaments: "The success of these provisions is vital. If they are not effective, the whole effort to secure future peace goes for nothing. There must be a permanent commission to inspect the carrying out of disarmament. Every country should consent, just as every trustee is willing to have an independent audit of his accounts." Geneva has just shown that such consent is not forthcoming.

Mr. Root is in excellent health. There are the same quick step, alert and erect carriage, glow of health in his cheeks, that there were six years ago in the Constitutional Convention at Albany, where I saw him daily. He looks by less than twenty years the seventy-six that he is. He is enjoying life. He spent the winter in California and the summer at his boyhood home at Clinton, New York. There is in his reappearance in Washington something contradictory to what Englishmen say of our public men: "They do not come back. Ten years is the length of their careers."

ELIHU ROOT

Washington will see the unchanged Root. It will find him asking for all the papers overnight. He comes from another generation, familiar because of his part in a former day with the supreme efforts then made to regulate and secure the peace of the world. In this he stands uniquely serviceable to his country and the Conference as a whole. He knows the rocks on which the ships have foundered. Mr. Root has the solemn sense that there is about to be a drama which means life or death in its ultimate *dénouement*—that the Washington Conference is not to deal with the late war, which was done ill or well at Paris, but to prevent the next war, to make peace before war comes.

THE COUNTRY PEW VS. THE COUNTRY PULPIT

BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE AND ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

WE have inherited a dim yellow document entitling us to a "slip in the church" of a little up-State New York town *in perpetuity*. The deed, for which our ancestor paid a hundred dollars, is couched in the certainty that his descendants to the last generation would "sit under" that pulpit unquestioningly—did not all respectable people go to church? That pulpit, though founded in dissent and maintained by protest, exercised a benevolent despotism over the pew. It held the community together, disciplined backsliders, and led the spiritually thirsty to the living springs of personal inspiration. What was the congregation that it should refuse whatever was helpful in the way of preaching or theology? No change of incumbent nor alteration of policy could diminish the obligation of the pew to support that pulpit, and the "slip in the church" was a sort of paid-up policy for our benefit forever.

The memories of our octogenarian kinsmen and their surviving neighbors still invest that pulpit with a kind of feudal splendor. They tell us that the pastor commanded the best of everything for his larder, and that his social prestige was such that a farmer's daughter would no more have thought of declining his offer of marriage than the Beggar Maid the hand of King Cophetua. Was not the minister above all the community in education? Did he not wear the best clothes and command the surest money income? He was the unquestioned head of the community—the very real pastor of his flock.

But that day is past. The country people have taken the long, hard step from the *right* of private judgment to the *habit* of private judgment. Where the pulpit could once ostracize the pew, the pew can now starve the pulpit, and the country minister who has not conformed to the change is usually neither well educated nor well housed nor well dressed; his salary has dwindled to an uncertain pittance, and his social standing has gone.

A MINISTER'S WIFE OF THE MIDDLE WEST

IN the rich Middle West we met a minister's wife, worn thin and gray by the relentless exigencies of enforced thrift, who complained bitterly of the hardships her position put upon her. Physical poverty she did not so much mind; self-denial was the free choice of those who elected to serve the lowly Master. But the "best ladies" of the town did not call upon her, and she was hardly ever asked to Sunday dinner by any of them. Another minister's wife, who showed us a beautiful hospitality, took it for granted that in servantless Iowa she must do her own housework, tend the chickens, the cow, and the kitchen garden, as well as make all the clothes for herself and the children; but that, for the great social event of the year, the school graduation exercises, she should have nothing to wear but striped calico was a humiliating tragedy. And, after more than twenty years of service, she and her husband despaired of things getting better; they were certain that poverty bordering upon destitution would follow them all their days and make it impossible for them to give their children such a home as their neighbors had or to educate and launch them unhandicapped—a living proof of the social and financial ascendency which the rural revolution has put into the hands of the pew. Hundreds of country families have given us transcripts of their annual budgets; in almost every case the amounts applied to the minister's salary are set down under charity.

ARE THE BRAINS IN THE PEWS?

INTELLECTUALLY, the estate of the minister has fallen. The culture of the pew has risen out of all proportion to the training of the pulpit. How gloriously pre-eminent did not the ministerial intellect of yesterday appear to the rank and file of his people! Our rich men in founding institutions of learning naturally provided in cast-iron wills that presidents must be chosen from the clergy—beyond question the most intelligent class in the community. But is it easy for boards of trustees and alumni associations to select able presidents within that limit now? A large proportion of the country ministers to whom we have listened were palpably less intelligent and less thoroughly educated than their congregations, and relied upon the pretense of knowledge or the emotional methods of the fast-vanishing revivalists for their effects.

Why?

Here are some of the reasons in the words of church boards, official reports, and denominational investigators:

Of northwest Arkansas, where only one-fifth of the country churches are growing, they tell us: "The old type of mountain preacher is to be found here. An intelligent layman said that his pastor could not read anything but the Bible, and could not read writing at all. A few of these preachers are proud of their illiteracy."

Of a county in western Tennessee with one hundred and seventy-three churches, not one of which is willing to pay for preaching every Sunday: "Only seven out of forty-three ministers reporting have had any seminary training."

Of three counties in northern Missouri having one hundred and eighty churches: "But two ministers reside in the county; one of these is a superan-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nuated preacher who is almost illiterate. . . . The average minister's library will not exceed one hundred and thirty volumes, seventy-five per cent of which are on theology of an ancient cast. Less than a dozen ministers have any works on agriculture, and, as a rule, the only works on social and economic questions are the text-books of school days."

We went over this section of northern Missouri with considerable care; we found a rural school of the most modern type, prize stock farms, a crowded normal school, and, in general, an intelligent and extremely alert citizenship. Is it any wonder that with a ministry so ignorant and ill trained as that portrayed in the official record quoted in the last paragraph only twenty-six per cent of the churches are growing, while the remainder are dying or dead?

ONLY SIXTEEN PER CENT ARE SEMINARY MEN

In southeastern Ohio, in counties where only twenty-five per cent of the churches are growing, "one-third of the ministers have nothing more than an elementary education, over one-half have not gone beyond the high school, while only sixteen per cent have had both a college and a seminary training."

"Of the ministers having work in three counties of Indiana, seventy-two per cent do not have a college and seminary training, fifty-seven per cent do not have a college education, thirty-seven per cent have not even been to high school. They have an average of two hundred books, and, as a rule, take no papers or magazines except the local newspapers and their church publications. The only equipment required by most of the denominations of their candidates is personal religious experience. . . . The well-equipped ministers earn more than they are receiving; but it is just as clear that the Church could well afford to pay others not to preach."

Contrast with this situation the fact that every one of these States has free colleges and high and normal schools, and that the people are prosperous and increasingly well read.

We went to church in a Northern farming community that sends its boys and its girls to college or the "select academy" as a matter of course, that maintains a flourishing woman's club, and boasts an active grange. The pastor spent the sermon hour trying to prove that the Book of Revelation was a scientific record of literal truth because stone images of six-winged lions had been found in Assyrian ruins, and how could there be a stone image of a thing that had not really existed? Is it surprising that people who send their children to college and make good use of a carefully selected public library grow impatient with the sophistries of the ignorant even when uttered from the pulpit? The church was almost empty, and the minister complained that this was its chronic condition.

"I'm paying for my pew in the Presbyterian church," said a hard-headed farmer. "Of course, I was raised up to be a Baptist; but no preacher can't stand up and tell me what I know ain't so!"

Everywhere we found that the unquestioned intellectual authority of the pulpit has vanished, not always because the ministers are less intelligent or good or able than their predecessors of fifty or a hundred years ago, but because the congregations are relatively so much richer, more moral, and better educated than they used to be. The ancient preeminence of the clergy has been submerged in the general democratic leveling up of the congregation, and the ministry as a body has not been diligent to maintain its intellectual ascendency.

Now, of course, this leveling up of the people is wholly and unconditionally good. But where the ministry fails to take account of the changing conditions and to adjust itself to them, it not only renders its own position precarious, but also leaves the newly prosperous, newly lettered, newly independent people without leadership, discipline, vision, or essential religious inspiration. This is no fancied evil. We found, not only churches in all parts of the country, but prosperous communities, suffering from every degree of ministerial neglect.

Let us quote from our journal:

"May 16. The influence of increasing wealth is visible in the homes of this countryside. No dusty carpets fitted into corners and tacked down in the old-fashioned way. Rugs everywhere—the inexpensive velvet kind, but with good Oriental patterns and in standard sizes. The crayon portrait has been outgrown; only an occasional one is allowed to linger around for sentiment's sake. The taste in wall-paper is still pretty bad, but, anyway, the whatnot is gone, and the dyed pampas grasses and the painted shells. Colonial or mission furniture, where people can afford it, and machine-carved golden oak seem the rule. These machine-made products have their limitations, but they are more beautiful than the baroque things of thirty years ago."

"May 1. The church is a bare and ugly place. Reasonably clean, of course, but what hideous colored glass windows! The seats are not upholstered, not even flowers in front of the pulpit. It was well filled, however—automobiles and buggies crowded the yard; as many men as women, and no end of small children and babies. We were a little early, and a husky, clear-eyed young farmer took us over to see the graveyard, with its *very old* stones going back as far as 1861! He wanted especially that we should see the grave of their former pastor, who had served them thirty years. 'He was a great man to build up the church, and up with the times; why, he was a friend of Henry Wallace, of "Wallace's Farmer"! We built that parsonage for him. He was the head of about everything there was 'round here. But this one ain't much that way.'"

STILL IN PEG-TOP TROUSERS

The congregation were mostly in ready-made clothes and had the effect of being fashionably dressed. Of course, when you looked at the clothes with a remembering eye, you saw that they were the styles that New York had discarded two years before. But the general effect was rather smart. At least they had come to that ugly place to worship the Lord in the beauty of their best raiment. They had tasted something of the fullness of life; they had found it good, and they craved the joy and beauty of praise and thanksgiving.

But the minister "had studied himself away from his people;" there was nothing in his sermon responsive to the confident heartiness of their faith. He drew his inspiration from the dry well of fear-grounded dogma; he labored mightily to fill them with the terrors of an everlasting hell. And they were manifestly bored. Their eyes kept following the sunlight that filtered lazily through the windows. When the sermon was over, the whole congregation seemed to emerge from spiritual coma and sang the closing hymn with enthusiasm. They gathered at the church door and discussed what "we might do" about this and that, while the minister retired to the adjacent parsonage in chill isolation.

"Has he been with you long?" we asked our young farmer.

"No; and he ain't going to be!"

And yet the man had preached with considerable emotional power and imagery. But the congregation had sat in judgment upon him and found him wanting; they were spiritually hungry, and they had not been fed.

"When it comes to getting you all worked up," we heard somebody say, "the motion pictures has that sort of thing beat a mile!"

But what was the poor clergyman to do? His training had killed whatever feeling for realities he ever had; he had been brought up on "theology"—not even remotely upon life. The sins he talked about had long since taken on new forms; the congregation couldn't make out what he was driving at; his fervor flew past its mark.

And what was the congregation to do? If they changed ministers, they might get a successor cut out of the same cloth. This difficulty has led a considerable number of churches to try to get on without regular pastors and to lead their services themselves. But, so far as we could learn, these self-leading churches are born before their time, and suffer from fatal weaknesses.

AMATEUR CHURCH SERVICES

We spent some days in the neighborhood of one of them. A minister was employed for one Sunday in the month only—so as to be on hand for baptisms and funerals, which everybody recognized as much too serious ground for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the unordained layman. On the other three Sundays they ran things themselves. And they seemed to have a very good time; but at no point did the service rise above the level of a fairly well conducted Sunday-school meeting. There was a marked disposition to rely upon the guidance of printed leaflets, and the interpretation of the Bible readings was at the best the interpretation of conscientious "horse sense" and very uncertain and rough at the edges. The appreciation accorded the leader was of the pleasantly generous and uncritical kind that is usually given to home talent. It was like the meeting of a popular club, and confessed its essential deficiency by the eagerness with which it urged us to "say a few words," not because any one knew that we had anything particular to say, but because we were strangers and anything unaccustomed would be a relief. This was our regular experience. Wherever we came upon a self-leading church we did usually find a pleasant neighborliness and a friendly spirit; but the special inspiration and moral drive that the Church has a right to expect from her ministers were always and conspicuously lacking.

There is no escaping the fact that, whatever the country people may be able to do in the future, they are at present neither able to walk securely without spiritual leaders nor to develop such leaders from among themselves. The great ideal of a self-leading democracy is met by the jealous individualism of the farmers, which refuses to admit that any one man is better or more able than his fellows, and country leadership by country people is delayed in consequence. Leadership from outside—the old, accustomed leadership of the clergy—would sit easier upon them, and is desperately needed.

In 1912 the Young Men's Christian Association published these suggestions on the matter:

1. The agricultural colleges could easily and with profit give courses directly relating men to church leadership in the country parishes. (A suggestion which some colleges are carrying out.)

2. The theological seminaries should give courses in rural sociology and practical church polity in these fields.

3. The strong men now manning the county work of the Young Men's Christian Association could be ordained to perform the functions of a minister.

Certainly something needs to be done, and it will not do to let prejudice or piety or tradition edit this balance-sheet between the pulpit and the pew.

After a sermon by a graduate who had successfully completed a course in a great theological school—a good sermon of its kind—two young farmers talked together at the church door.

"He's a good talker," said one.

"A good talker, yes; but where in caution does it get you?"

Obviously it got them nowhere at all. The country is asking, "Where does it get you?" of everything, from flying-machines to philosophy. It has no room for wonder as such, nor for wonder's other form, unthinking reverence. That moving pictures and wireless should be wonderful is not enough; they must be put to work and show proof of proficiency—and the Church along with the rest.

AFRAID OF A SHOW-DOWN

Up in the Northwest we talked with a layman and his wife who put this feeling into words.

"My wife and I have been to about all the churches within traveling distance, and none of them seem able to *do* anything for us. Why? Well, there's various reasons—sometimes one, sometimes another. Now the Baptist preacher talked one day when we were there about the communion, and we weren't much interested in that; and then we went to hear the Presbyterian brother over at Dawton, and he gave us a good talk about the home mission field—it was interesting enough, but not what you would call inspiring; and the Christians' pastor told about Bible interpretation, and I could have beat him at it any day; and the Methodists, they had a good exciting sermon, only, somehow, it didn't lift you up as it was meant to. That's about all the churches we can get to here even with the automobile—and we don't seem to get *at* anything in any of them!"

"We'd be glad to join a church, and work in it too, if we could find one that'd give us anything," his wife added.

"What it amounts to," the husband continued, "is that the ministers don't know much. They haven't got anything to say to us that we care about hearing. What they say hasn't got anything to do *with* us—mostly we know more than that ourselves.

"And then," he went on, slowly, "they haven't any real influence—any of the ministers. And I guess they know it. If they told their people any special thing to do, they wouldn't be any more likely to do it than as if the storekeeper told them—not *as* likely, in fact. That's why, I suppose, they're so careful not to tell 'em to do anything they wouldn't do anyway—they're afraid of a show-down."

It's literally true—the ministry is so insecure in its leadership, so dependent on the pew, that it doesn't often dare let it come to a "show-down." We had this from a defeated Iowa pastor:

"You ask me why I didn't stay? Well, the richest man in my congregation was named Potter. He was a deacon and he contributed largely to the church, and he didn't drink and he didn't swear, and, so far as I know, he obeyed all the Ten Commandments. He owned several farms that he rented; but his chief business was to loan money on farm mortgages, and his profits came by keeping all his clocks set to the minute and foreclosing mortgages on the second they were due. He got the highest rate of interest the law allowed when you squinted at it sidewise, and he had no more mercy than an avalanche. A good many of the horrible things that happened in the neighborhood could be traced directly to this law-abiding deacon of mine. And so one day I got him all by himself and I said, quietly into his ear:

"'Brother,' I said, 'do you know what I'm going to preach about next Sunday?'

"'No,' said he.

"'Well, I'm going to preach about the greatest sin in this township and what comes of it. I'm going to say from the pulpit how much worse it is than drunkenness or prostitution or than the robbing of Sister Holman's house last year or the killing of young Richards down by the mill. And I'm going to take these four examples of what it does to prove it.'

"And I showed him my records of the last four mortgages he had foreclosed.

"'That, brother, is what I'm going to do,' I said; 'and I'm telling you beforehand so you will know.'

"He got up and buttoned his coat.

"'I'll never enter the church doors again!' said he.

"'All right, brother,' I told him; 'that's for you to decide.'"

"And did you do it?" we asked.

"Yes."

"And did he ever come back?"

"Never!"

"And was that why you left?"

"Yes; he paid most of my salary."

Is it any wonder that hundreds of churches go pastorless? That parents do not encourage their sons to enter the pew-controlled ministry?

"Why, hardly any one would think of it!" one mother said to us. "Most of us are looking for something better than that for our boys. We send them to the State college, if we can afford it, and then, if they don't take up farming, we try and give them a start in the city—there's such a lot of things a young man can go into now! We wouldn't be doing the best we could by them if we let them go into the ministry."

A SOCIAL CHANGE

What a reversal of standards since it was a social distinction for the farmer's daughter to marry the minister! The pew has come into power, and its attitude is the attitude of industry, of commerce, of business—that is, of civilization. It cannot be coerced by fear, or by any of the "Thou shalt nots," for the time when church-going was considered the dividing line between the sheep and the goats is dead. There is no social ostracism for the unchurched. The country people no longer take religion to be inevitable, nor the utterances of the clergy on trust, nor consider the support of the church as obligatory. They do a lot more questioning than they used to, and they believe only by conscious effort. The new emancipation of the race means a rejection of authority, religious as well as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political, *except that which comes through service.*

There are two possible results of this emancipation as it affects the church. Either the church will be transformed into a democratically ruled club with a president instead of a pastor, or the pulpit, through a high type of service that the pew cannot refuse, will train itself for the leadership that is so much needed. The time has come when the pulpit must make good to the pew.

AMERICA'S LAND DEFENSE ARMAMENT

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE WORLD WAR

BY FRANK J. BRUNNER

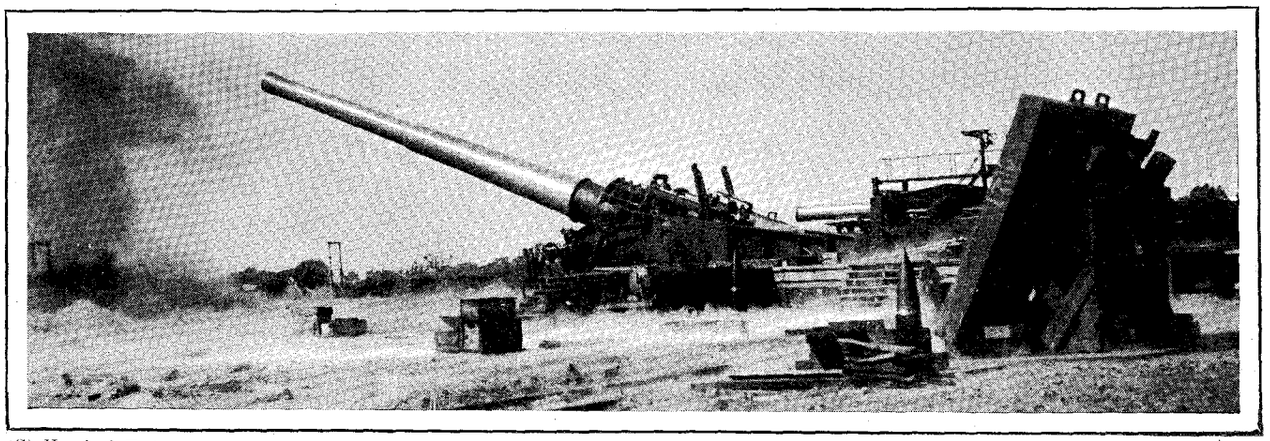
FORMERLY WASHINGTON EDITOR OF THE "ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL"

OUT of the welter of a World War there have emerged for use in the land defenses of the United States bigger, more destructive, and wonderful instruments designed to check and conquer an attacking enemy. The marvels of immense cannon which hurled a Kaiser's threat into the heart of Paris have been outdone by the Army Ordnance Department in developments of less than three years since the armistice. The scientists' discovery of a means of locating hostile guns from the flash of discharge has been rendered nearly impotent by the creation of a flashless powder which has a momentary glow from the gun's muzzle. The threat of ponderous mobile land forts, inappropriately termed tanks, is now met with a machine gun hurling showers of armor-penetrating projectiles at the rate of four hundred a minute. The danger of a battle fleet's onslaught upon our shores has been minimized by the creation of an aerial bomb weighing two tons and carrying down from the sky more than a ton weight of high explosives. Aerial offensive designs will have to reckon with shrapnel whose bursts are controlled by mechanical time fuses adjustable to the changes in atmospheric conditions. The roughest terrain on the globe will be to our advancing forces no insurmountable obstacle to the powerful tractors carrying guns and men.

In the development of types the programme of the Army Ordnance Department is compulsorily projected ten years into the future to keep in advance of the steady growth of sea arms. The task of ordnance experts is a constant urge forward. Projects which promise great accomplishments to-day may be abandoned to-morrow. This entails tremendous waste in labor and material, but it is the inexorable rule in planning for the preservation of the Nation against the schemes of any enemy or possible combination of enemies. The War Department at Washington opened wide the doors of the Ordnance Department's immense field of activity recently for some nine hundred civilian visitors to the Aberdeen, Maryland, Proving Ground, located at the upper extremity of Chesapeake Bay. The party represented the membership of three National technical associations, composed of manufacturers, engineers, and mechanical experts, whose organizations are pledged to public service in effecting industrial preparedness for war as the strongest guaranty of peace.

The regular service tests of war-making material which are usually spread over a period of several weeks were consolidated for this single day at Aberdeen, and the programme proved to be quite as strenuous for the onlooker as a six-ring circus. But when the last gun had been fired the visitors entrained for their home cities convinced that their country could be comfortable even in the face of a war which might threaten to involve it. For just as surely as the ordnance effort of the United States exerted a strong influence in breaking down German morale in 1918, the post-war enlargement upon that effort must make its impress upon war designs of world Powers to-day. From the point of view of army ordnance, therefore, the United States enters the Conference on Armament Limitation occupying a position of strength, whereas this Nation would have been compelled, prior to 1917, to occupy at a similar conference a seat among the weakling nations, and, without voice, would have been compelled also merely to listen to the conversations of the strong Powers and to accept their estimates as to the allocation of defensive establishments.

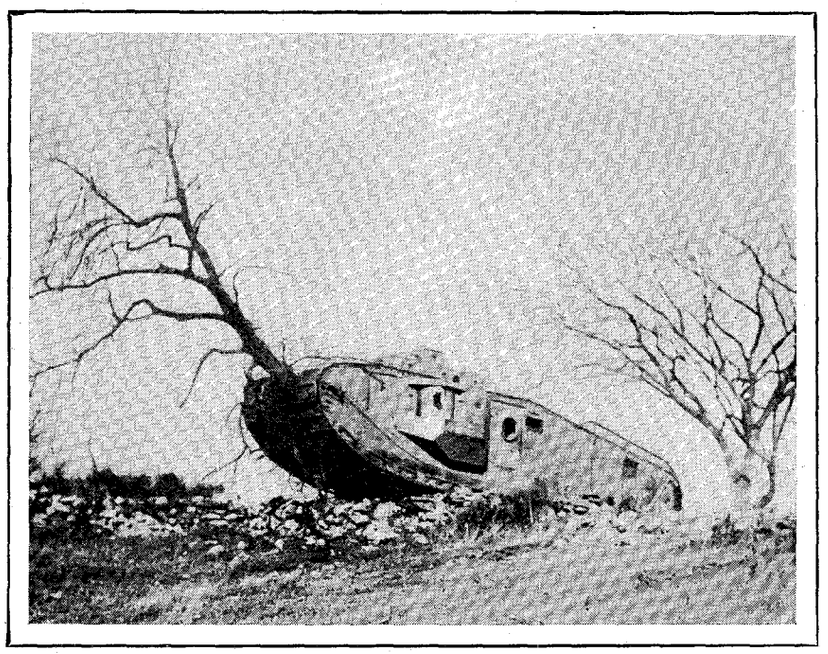
An incident of the day at Aberdeen is illuminative of the great strides negotiated in the span of five years. Out of the sky came a humming airplane; it glided to the landing-field, and from its cockpit, in flying togs, emerged a brigadier-general who, while in flight from New York to Washington, called to present his compliments to the Chief of Army Ordnance, Major-General C. C. Williams, and to thank him for producing at Aberdeen the best aerial bombs the world has seen. It was all very casual, caused no wonderment among the spectators, and the group of Army officers in the vicinity displayed interest only in the high-ranking flier's estimate of the dimensions of the crater scooped out of the earth by the explosion of a 2,000-pound bomb as measured by him from an altitude of three thousand feet. Five years back such an incident would have been heralded as startling news in all quarters of the globe. To-day it creates less comment than a trifling traffic accident. Jules Verne, it



(C) Harris & Ewing

THE MOST POWERFUL RIFLE IN THE WORLD—AMERICAN 16-INCH, 50-CALIBER, ON BARBETTE MOUNT, HAVING AN EFFECTIVE RANGE OF NEARLY 35 MILES

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE LARGEST AMERICAN TANK, THE DESIGN BASED UPON RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN TANK COMMISSION

might be observed, was a sluggish dreamer of man's potential ability to conquer air, land, and sea by the product of his inventive genius.

WONDERS OF FLASHLESS POWDER

Scientific development of electric measuring instruments which accurately record the distance and location of the muzzle flash from guns of large and small caliber came to a state of perfection long before the outbreak of the World War. Flash-ranging, as it is termed, supplies accurate data by the use of which the artillerist is enabled to put his gun "on the target" detected by the instrument. To defeat this scientific achievement was a problem for the ordnance expert. He has very nearly achieved his aim and has checked very definitely the finding of the range of the three-inch rapid-fire guns. The steps up toward subduing the flash of a sixteen-inch gun are still to be laboriously negotiated. The extent of the problem is indicated in the measurement of the flash of a high-powered modern coast-defense rifle with 35,000 cubic feet of inflammable gases at a temperature of incandescence issuing from the muzzle. This enormous flame can be seen for miles at night and illuminates the surrounding objects with its blinding glare.

The test at Aberdeen consisted of five rounds of service charges from a French 75-millimeter gun, then ten rounds of flashless, followed by five service rounds. The comparison between the brilliant flashes of the smokeless service charge and the flashless charge was so startling that the spectators were spontaneously moved to cheering this new wonder of ordnance study. The ten flashless firings were barely discernible to observers standing fifty feet distant from the gun. The "flash" was a flicker of dull ruby, giving no illumination whatever. That it is non-actinic was proved by failure to secure an impression on a photographic plate. This control of muzzle flash might be likened to the difference between the illumination afforded by the tiny pilot jet of the common incandescent gas lamp and the lamp's full glare. No known flash-ranging instrument will detect flashless powder discharged from a five-inch gun, experts assert, from a distance of half a mile.

First efforts to produce flashless powder were exerted in 1910, but successful experimental work dates back only to 1917. The remarkable results now attained are produced by the same principles by which blasting explosives are made safe in gassy mines, by the addition of various substances to smokeless powder for the purpose of cooling the gases of explosion to such a temperature that they will not ignite when they escape into the air at the muzzle of the gun. Some of these substances are materials which do not burn but are volatilized, their vapors exerting a cooling effect on the hot gases and serving to dilute them. The crash of gun discharge is appreciably diminished with the use of the flashless charge because of the fact that the volume of sound in the regular service charge is due to the explosion of the combustible gases on mixing with the air at muzzle ignition. The detonation of flashless fire is flat and the vibration muffled as is a piano string when put in contact with the soft pedal. The degree of flash control gained with the smaller field-artillery gun approaches the perfect and lends confidence to the hope that the problem of control in the big-gun ammunition will be solved at no distant day.

COAST DEFENSE AT REDUCED COST

The ephemeral airplane is justifying itself by forcing down the cost of seacoast defense works. The rapid development in aerial bombardment, ordnance experts are convinced, is pronouncing the doom of present-day permanent coastal fortifications, particularly the big gun of disappearing type, which cannot be fitted with cover from air attack.

Great emplacements costing millions of dollars are on the way to the scrap-heap by reason of the evolution now gaining headway. Because of the advance of the aerial bombing machine to a lifting capacity of several tons and the accuracy of bomb sights our forts are no longer impregnable. Army ordnance has produced a 4,300-pound aerial bomb containing 2,700 pounds of high explosive. This great missile, in contour much the same as an enlarged hot-water tank so necessary in domestic equipment, is the present-day limit of airplane capacity. Bomb enlargement, however, is no ordnance problem, for a 50-ton demolition bomb can be produced as readily as the 4,300-pounder. Ordnance experts, who know the great useful lift of the big Zeppelin airships, regard the production of immense bombs as so simple a gesture that they are still searching for the reason why the Germans contented themselves with dropping small bombs into London and other English centers of population. In the soft earth of an unplowed field the crater made by the 4,300-pound bomb measures seventy-five feet in diameter. Its depth is thirty feet. The destruction the same missile might carry down into the heart of a congested city may therefore be easily imagined.

It is this certain aerial destructive element which is revolutionizing design for coast defense. The initial manifestation is a 16-inch rifle of 50 caliber capable of an effective range of nearly 35 miles, firing a projectile weighing 2,340 pounds. The powder charge weighs 850 pounds and the muzzle velocity is 2,700 feet per second. This gun can be elevated to 65 degrees and is electrically operated throughout. It outranges any gun mounted on any battleship afloat, and it is the Army's answer to increasing naval armament. The gun is mounted on a barbette carriage allowing a traverse of 360 degrees, and when emplaced will be wholly exposed except for a parapet hiding the mount from view from the sea.

Present-day theory as to exposure of seacoast defense arms is immovably based upon the practical. It is argued that "permanent" emplacements are vulnerable from the air, hence entail unnecessary expenditure of money and labor in construction. With the barbette mount, transportable in a short train of flat cars, emplacements can be prepared in six hours by merely filling a circular depression in the earth a foot deep with trap rock, upon which the circular steel mount rests securely. If this gun is put out of action from the air, the "fortification" remains and additional guns can be brought up and mounted. With existing fixed coast de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

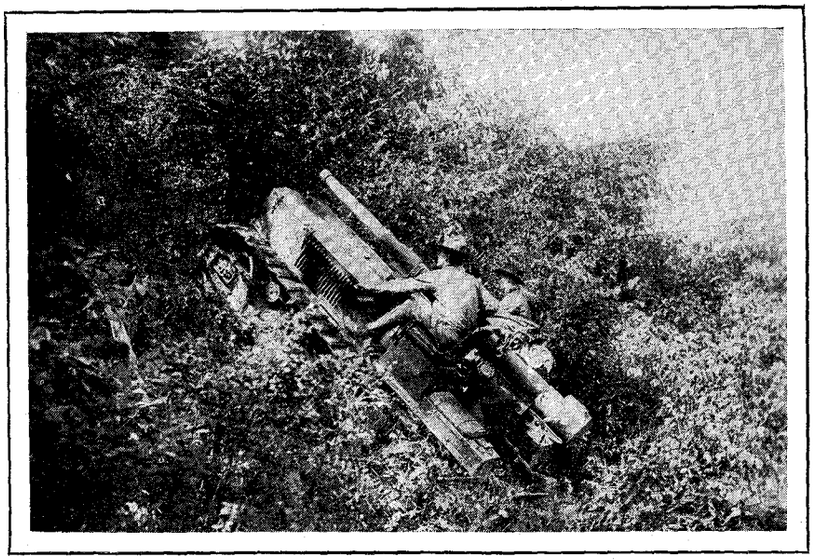
fenses there is of course no reserve of *matériel* to replace shattered guns and emplacements.

The mobility of the barbette mount envisages a battery of 16-inch rifles quickly established at the most exposed portions of our coasts by the simple expedient of laying spur tracks from the coastal trunk-line railways and mounting rifles capable of hurling a projectile which will penetrate a battleship's side armor at an angle of 25 degrees and at more than 30 miles range. Exposure of gun and carriage, it is estimated, entails no danger from the battleship fire at so great a range. Our own air defense is also reckoned upon to minimize danger from hostile bombing airplanes.

The latest product in disappearing design, a 16-inch gun mounted upon ponderous mechanism, costs $600,000, of which sum $250,000 is the cost of the mount. The mobile barbette-mounted rifle costs little more than half this amount of money. Should attainment of limitation of armament fail, there will be the consolation that Army ordnance is reducing the cost of maintaining better and more effective defenses for our long coast-lines. In addition, the perfected railway mount, carrying a high-powered rifle which is fired while the "car" rests on its trucks, can be quickly put into quantity production in an emergency for use either as secondary batteries or at points where only shallow-draught warships can approach the shore. By developing types only on a quantity-production basis a minimum cost policy is maintained. In other words, this is a skeletonized plan whereby reserve *matériel* serves the uses of peace until war comes.

"GAS," THE GREAT PROPELLANT

In land warfare of the future the "gas" service station will be an important factor. It is even possible that history may record, not the loss of a kingdom for lack of a horse, but for the failure of the gas tank to produce the needed extra gallon to insure victory. The American caterpillar tractor, devised for use on our great stretches of farm lands in the West, proved its worth in the World War, although the Germans adapted it to uses the American manufacturer never dreamed of, while the British took hold of the idea and chained its power to the ponderous moving forts ineptly named tanks. The American inventive mind has been active since the close of hostilities under the stimulus of foreign adaptation. Should a division or an army corps take the field to-morrow, neither would of necessity utilize the horse or mule. The range of motor-driven transportation now perfected takes every step from the motorcycle up to a caterpillar tractor mounting an 8-inch howitzer. There is even a reconnaissance wagon, comparable to the lowly push-cart, in which four riflemen may lie prone while a fifth rifleman walks behind guiding the wagon and controlling its one-horse-power motor. For the commanding general and his staff a cable suspension car is available, which makes terrain easy because its big wheels run upon a continuous belt of thick rubber. Then for transport of fragile material there is the hydraulic transmission truck, which simply utilizes opposing pumps to run the driving gear, and does it without the slightest jar.



HOLT CATERPILLAR TRACTOR, MOUNTING 75 MM. RAPID-FIRE GUN, ASCENDING SLOPE AT NEARLY 45 DEGREES

Caterpillar tractors weighing from two and one-half tons to twenty tons, mounting guns which fire projectiles of three to nine inches in diameter, others towing immense rifles fitted to trailer mounts, form a rather bewildering procession at a proving-ground exhibition. The "genuine tank" of a caterpillar mount for anti-aircraft guns has also been produced. This outfit takes the plunge in five feet of water and wades through without a miss of its engine or dampening the feet of its operator. Another step forward is an American tractor which sheds its caterpillar treads and on solid rubber-tired wheels speeds at twenty-five miles an hour on reasonably smooth highways. Maneuverability is as highly developed as is traction speed, for the smaller caterpillar makes a complete reverse turn in the space of its own length and travels over an ordinary field at eighteen miles an hour. The variety of motorized equipment for field army use is almost endless. But the end is not yet in sight, for American manufacturers are tireless in pushing development of improved types, and this in face of the fact that the war surplus will probably not be scrapped for ten years, so that there is no possibility of orders going to manufacturers for production of more than a few types of their improved product.

LITTLE GUNS OF GREAT POWER

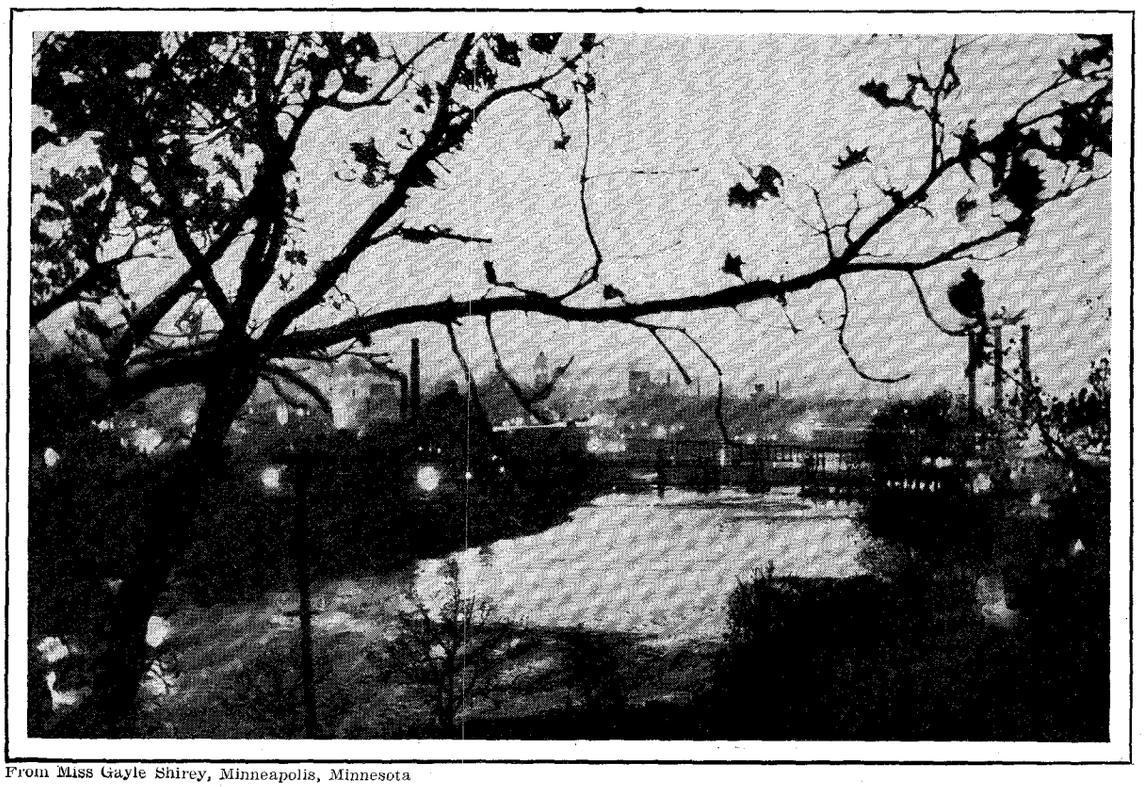
Our infantry organization of to-day provides for three rifle companies and one machine-gun company to the battalion. The machine-gunners' potential destructive power, moreover, has been greatly enhanced by the improvement of their weapon and the enlargement of the projectile and lengthening of effective range. The half-inch anti-tank rifle, improvised out of necessity by the Germans, inspired the development of an American machine gun of fifty caliber capable of penetrating tank armor at 1,000 yards and firing 400 rounds a minute. It is probable that this weapon will replace the one-inch rapid-firer known to the infantryman as "the accompanying gun." The perfection of machine guns using service rifle ammunition, and even the forty-five caliber pistol cartridges, is going forward apace, and the day is approaching when a gun to meet every requirement will be at the call of the Army. Tracer and incendiary ammunition also has been greatly improved since the war, with a relatively increased accuracy of marksmanship on the ground and in firing from airplanes.

Mechanical fuses for shrapnel—delicate mechanism comparable to the chronometer—are now available, so that in rapid-fire bursts of anti-aircraft shells control in face of atmospheric changes is absolute. Accuracy as well as effectiveness of fire is thereby enhanced, but in anti-aircraft gunnery the changes are coming on in quick succession, making a truism of the ordnance officer's observation that the advancement of war instruments to-day makes yesterday's product obsolescent and last week's obsolete. This is an exaggeration, to be sure, but license for its repetition may be granted because Americans have worked wonders in less than four years in the creation of ordnance material. If our foreign friends coming to the Armament Conference could be spectators at one complete demonstration at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds, it is possible that they might reach the conclusion that Uncle Sam possesses a convincing material argument to prove that "gunning" as a world sport will not pay the sportsman who picks the United States as his hunting-ground.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

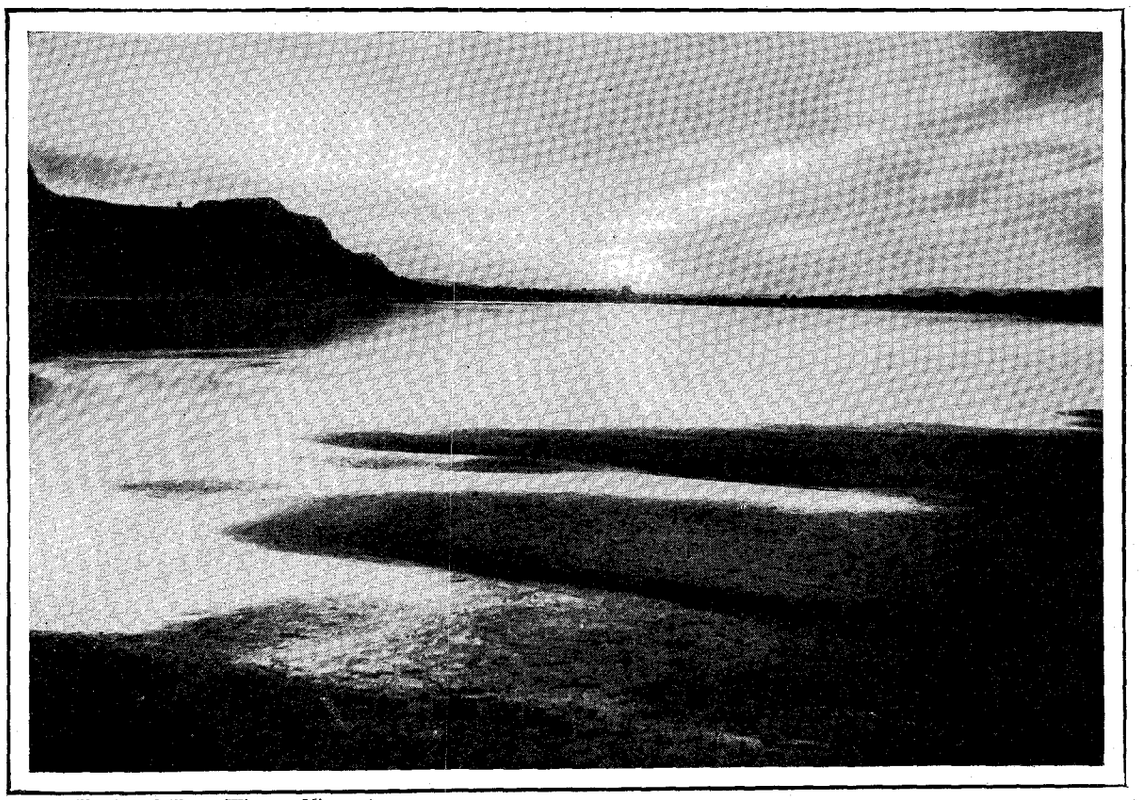
IN PICTURESQUE MINNESOTA

PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS



From Miss Gayle Shirey, Minneapolis, Minnesota

THE MILLING DISTRICT OF MINNEAPOLIS AT NIGHT, TAKEN FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CAMPUS



From Willard E. Hillyer, Winona, Minnesota

SUNSET ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER NEAR WINONA, MINNESOTA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BOOK TABLE

CHILDREN AS COPY

BY CHRISTOPHER MORLEY

TITANIA said: "You haven't written a poem about the baby yet." It is quite true. She is now thirteen months old, and has not yet had a poem written about her. Titania considers this deplorable. The first baby was hardly a week old before all sorts of literary studies were packing the mails, speeding to such editors as were known to be prompt pay. (I hope, indeed I hope, you never saw that astounding essay—published anonymously in "Every Week," which expired soon after—called "The Expectant Father," which was written when the poor urchin was some twenty-four hours old. It was his first attempt to earn money for his parent. If any child ever paid his own hospital bills—C. O. D., as you might say—it was he. I believe in bringing up my children to be self-supporting.)

And the second baby was only three weeks old when the first poem about *her* was written.

But here is this third morsel, thirteen months old, and no poem yet. Titania, I say, considers this a kind of insult to the innocent babe. No, not at all, my dear. I admit that it would be very helpful if H. (I will call her that, for *baby* is a word that cannot be repeated in print very often without all hands growing maudlin; and I don't like to use her own name, which seems too personal; just remember, then, that H. stands for a small brown-eyed creature who is still listed in the Bureau of Records of the Department of Health [certificate No. 43515, *anno* 1920] as *Female Morley*, because when the birth was registered by the doctor her name had not been decided, and ever since then I have been too busy to go round to call on Dr. Copeland, the Health Commissioner, and ask him to have her more specifically enrolled)—I admit it would be very helpful if she were to turn to and lend a hand in paying the coal bill by having some verses written about herself. I have looked at her with admiration every day for these thirteen months, trying, as one might say, to get some angle on her that would lead to a poem. She does not seem very angular.

I insist that my not having written a poem about her is really very creditable. Titania seems to think that it implies my having become, in some sense, blasé about children. Again, not so, not so at all. I must confess that in my enthusiasm I rather made use of the two older urchins as copy. But H., droll infant that she is, is too subtle for me. I'll come to that in a minute.

I talked all this matter over (being of a cautious turn, and fond of getting experienced advice) with two eminent author-parents—Mr. Tom Masson and Mr. Tom Daly—long ago, before Titania and I began putting on heirs. Both these gentlemen have made a lot of use of their children in earning, or at any rate gaining, a living. Their advices coincided. I myself was worried, but Mr. Tom Masson insisted that there was nothing like having offspring as a source of copy; he said that he would pay ten cents a word, in "Life," for anything about the then shortly arriving urchin. (He said it would be fifteen cents a word if it was a girl, because girls cost you so much more later on. He has had experience in that matter, I believe.) Mr. Tom Daly, who has run rather to boys, said very much the same thing; but he was not in a position to buy my stuff, so I paid less attention to him.

But to get back to H. There never was a more enchanting infant. Mr. Walter de la Mare, who is also an authority, has written me delightful letters about her, although he has never seen her. But even a prose letter from a poet like Mr. de la Mare is more valuable, I think, than an actual poem from most other poets, so darling H. cannot say she has been neglected. But she is much too delicious for me to be able to sit down easily and write something that would do her justice. The night before she was born her mother and I did two things. We went to Huyler's for chocolate ice-cream soda, and we read aloud Bernard Shaw's autobiography, which is printed in Frank Harris's "Contemporary Portraits." I dislike to bring Mr. Harris into this, for certainly I can think of no one who has less in common with H., that celestial nugget. But I have to tell the truth, don't I? Mr. Harris wrote an essay about Shaw; and Shaw, feeling that it was not adequate, wrote a really amusing sketch to show how Harris should have done it. Well, there is something symbolic about this, for H. is as sweet as anything Huyler ever compounded; and she is even more enigmatic than Shaw. (I can see now it should have been Page and Shaw instead of Huyler.)

But I feel that pretty soon I shall be writing a poem about her. I have felt it coming for some time. But it has got to *come;* I am not going to bring it. That shows how I have matured by associating with H. Sometimes I wish I could hire a really great poet to write about her. Swinburne might do for the rough draft. "Oh, what a bee-yootiful babby!" he used to cry when he saw them in their prams up at Putney—so, I think, Max Beerbohm describes. But I should want to have his rough draft polished and refined by some one else. I can only think of Mr. Walter de la Mare. He alone has just the right insight. For babies thirteen months old—the best age of all—must not be treated condescendingly, nor fulsomely, nor adoringly, nor sugarishly. William Blake, if left alone in the room with H., would have understood her. What an infant, I give you my word! Living with children is largely a contest of endurance. It is a question of which one can tire the other out first. (This is a great secret; never before made plain.) Start in early in the morning, and take things with a rush. If you are strong, austere, resolute, you may be able to wear them down and exhaust them by dusk. If you can do so, without prostrating yourself, then you may get them to bed safely and have a few hours of cheerful lassitude. But take every possible advantage. Let them run and frolic, yourself sitting down as much as you can. Favor yourself, and snatch a little rest while they are not looking. Even so, the chances are you will crack first.

This applies to older children; after they gain the use of their limbs and minds. But H. has not reached that harrowing stage. Placable, wise, serene, she sits in her crib. She has four teeth (beauties). To hear her cry is so rare that I hardly know what her voice of sorrow sounds like. Sometimes, for an instant, she looks a little frightened. Then I like her best, for I know she is human, and has in her the general capsule of frailty.

You may be quite sure of one thing, I shall never print that poem unless I feel that it comes somewhere near doing her justice.

A NEW WINDOW INTO RUSSIA[1]

DURING the war we had in Europe a list of Ambassadors none of whom had had previous diplomatic experience—Mr. Page at London, Mr. Sharp at Paris, Mr. Gerard at Berlin, Mr. Francis at Petrograd, Mr. Morganthau at Constantinople, and, last, but not least, Mr. Whitlock, then Minister, and now Ambassador at Brussels.

As a credit to his country Mr. Francis takes deserved place in this list. His resources, his popularity, and his pluck displayed during his ambassadorship whet one's appetite for a reading of his just-published work on Russia. Though it has no special literary quality, few if any volumes put forth concerning Russia have the decisive ring of this. It is worth a place in any library of books on Russia, if for nothing else than for its collection of official despatches; these have a graphic quality not generally found to this extent in such documents. When we come to the Ambassador's private letters and to his description of persons and events, we realize that the Yankee-like "I want to know" attitude

[1] Russia from the American Embassy. By David R. Francis. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of this man, truly "from Missouri," his free and easy style, his Western wit, and his dogged grit give to this work an individuality and atmosphere all its own.

The value of Mr. Francis's work is double—it is both reminiscent and suggestive.

As to reminiscence, he tells us, for example, of Germany's propaganda in Finland with a view to creating an uprising of the Finns. He realized, therefore, the importance of maintaining the Russian army intact there. Soon after we entered the war a credit was extended to the Finnish Government by the United States for $100,000,000 on condition that the entire amount be expended in America. After the American Commission's arrival in Russia, "Senator Root and I joined in the recommendation that $15,000,000 of this $100,000,000 (and if the entire $100,000,000 had already been obligated, an additional credit amounting to $15,000,000) be extended in cash for the purpose of paying the Russian army in Finland." At that time the Russian soldiers in the former province were threatening to mutiny in default of their overdue pay. Our Government did place $15,000,000 in the Bank of England to the credit of Russia, Mr. Francis tells us, in accord with an agreement made with the Bank of Finland, and the Russian soldiers were promptly paid.

Another "inside fact" is the revelation that the Milyukov Ministry was nearly overthrown a week after the Czar's overthrow, though the Ministry was able to right itself and last for several months. When President Lvov resigned, and Kerensky became temporarily supreme (the Soviet growing meanwhile from a decidedly lower house to an intolerable upper), a fatal error was committed, as the author well asserts, in not crushing the Revolution entirely. Mr. Francis says:

> Whatever the immediate result, the consequences of executing Lenine and Trotsky would have been a benefit to Russia in the long run and would have produced less unrest than now prevails throughout the world. The Russian army was not then so demoralized as it became four months later. Kornilov and Alexiev and Brusilov and other brave soldiers were then living and the intelligencia and bourgeoisie had not been so decimated by famine and slaughter as they soon were. Furthermore, I doubt whether two more as strong characters as Lenine and Trotsky could have been found among the Bolshevists of the entire world.

Still another is the story about the Czarevitch. During the Revolution of March, 1917, Kerensky was coming from a conference with the fallen monarch and found the late heir apparent waiting for him outside the door. The lad inquired whether Kerensky were the Minister of Justice in the new Government.

"Yes," said Kerensky, "I am."

"I want to know," remarked the Czarevitch, "if my father had any right to abdicate for me when he abdicated for himself?"

While Kerensky's reply is not recorded, Mr. Francis thus comments: "Another instance of children asking questions which learned and wise men were unable to answer."

There are also interesting disclosures concerning the Kerensky-Kornilov misunderstanding, concerning Kerensky's "fatal blunder in distributing arms to the workingmen of Petrograd," and concerning the sinister activity of John Reed at Moscow.

With regard to the change of government, Mr. Francis prophesied in 1916 that "if the Court Party does not adopt a more liberal policy by extending more privileges to the people and to their representatives in the Duma, a revolution will take place before even the lapse of a few years." The Ambassador had already seen the motive power towards a change of government. As he says: "For generations Germany has contended for Russia; first, by commercial penetration; second, by war; third, by Bolshevism."

The chief victim of the World War is indeed Russia, Mr. Francis concludes. Not only did she lose more of her sons than did any other nation, but since the war her progress, unlike that of the other nations, has not been towards recuperation. Yet the present situation, notwithstanding the scandalous peace of Brest-Litovsk, might have been saved, thinks the author, "had President Wilson permitted me to return to Petrograd, accompanied by 50,000 troops."

As to suggestions concerning the future, and particularly with regard to trade relations with Russia, the author says that the Bolshevist Government's invariable rule is to have all foreign commerce "directly and absolutely under its control." Hence, as he justly adds, "it would be a grievous mistake and a stultifying crime for our Government to enter into trade relations with the Bolshevist Government." E. F. B.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

ARRANT ROVER (THE). By Berta Ruck. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

The "rover" of this novel is a male flirt of whom Ethel, "the red-haired handful" of the four girls he pursues in one summer, says: "You will philander with the nurse who takes your last temperature; you will flirt on your deathbed." As may be judged from the subject, the story is fluffy.

LARK (THE). By Dana Burnet. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.90.

This story has more plot interest and constructive plan than anything that Mr. Burnet has written hitherto. It is the romance of a foundling who sings like a lark and ultimately becomes a prima donna. Her love for one brother and marriage to another create a difficult situation.

NIELS LYHNE. By J. Peter Jacobsen. Translated by Hanna Astrup Larsen. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. $2.

This is a translation of the best-known work of a Danish writer who attained distinction in Scandinavian literature before his death, just after this book was written. It is probably self-interpretative in its portrait of a poet by nature who forces himself to play a man's part in the realities of work and social responsibility. There is delicate charm in the writing of the book, and its women characters are finely drawn. The tone is sad but not morbid.

THEIR FRIENDLY ENEMY. By Gardner Hunting. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

Good stories for girls are rare. This should please those of high school age. Hardly are Marah and Halley out of school when they have an unusual opportunity to go into small-town newspaper work. But, when they innocently favor community and civic reform, they find the kindly and generous owner of the paper obdurate, a friendly enemy. How they tackle the problem makes a readable story.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

MODERN EUROPE. By Charles Downer Hazen. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.50.

This work is one to be commended to those who wish to get a well-balanced idea of what modern Europe really means. The author writes from a large background of study and fact and well-digested opinion. A reading of his book must suggest further research and stimulate study.

TURKEY. By Talcott Williams. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. $3.

The author was born and educated in Turkey—his father was an American missionary. He knows Turkey at first hand and can appreciate the problems there, especially in Asia Minor. His solution for them is an American mandatory. Most readers, we think, will hardly agree to this. But they will, we are sure, gain valuable information by reading what Dr. Williams has to tell them concerning the racial divisions of Turkey and its economic, educational, religious, and social needs.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. Edited by Shailer Mathews and Gerald Birney Smith. The Macmillan Company, New York. $8.

This book, as the publishers accurately state, sets forth in compact form the results of modern study in the psychology of religion; the history of religions, both primitive and developed; the present status of religious life in America, Europe, and the most important mission fields; and the important phases of Christian belief and practice. It covers both social and individual ethics. About one hundred scholars have co-operated with the editors, including well-known specialists in their respective fields.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT. PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE OUTLOOK EDITORIAL ROOMS BY H. H. MOORE

MR. ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT'S editorials on the background of the Arms Conference have received the approval of many of the closest students of international relations.

He will be in Washington during the opening weeks of the Conference and his interpretation of its progress will appear exclusively in these pages. His first article from Washington, "Illusionist or Idealist," is published in this issue.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOUTH, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE NEGRO

LAST week's issue of The Outlook contained four telegraphic comments upon the President's Birmingham address from leaders of Southern opinion. These telegrams from Mr. Bolton Smith, ex-Senator Le Roy Percy, the Right Rev. Theodore D. Bratton, and Major R. R. Moton have attracted widespread interest.

After last week's issue had gone to press telegrams were received which it was impossible to print in last week's issue. Two of these we print herewith.

The first is from James Longstreet Sibley, now Extension Professor of Social Work in the University of Georgia. Mr. Sibley was formerly Superintendent of Negro Schools of the State of Alabama, and in that office proved himself a most practical idealist. Several years ago a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook spent a day with Mr. Sibley in a tour of inspection of the Negro schools in one of the more backward country districts of Alabama. In one school he remembers seeing Mr. Sibley administer a kindly but well-merited rebuke in a manner which was typical of his whole attitude towards his work.

Entering the schoolroom, Mr. Sibley caught a glimpse of a picture of Abraham Lincoln hanging very much askew upon the wall because a battered hat had been thrown over a convenient corner of its frame. Mr. Sibley quickly called the class-room of colored children to attention and asked, "Who hung a hat on that picture?" An overgrown boy of some thirteen years shuffled forward. "Ah reckon Ah did, suh."

"Do you know whose picture that is?" The boy scratched his head and answered: "No, suh, Ah don't 'zactly know." "Well," said Mr. Sibley, "that is a picture of Abraham Lincoln, the man who set your people free, and I don't want ever to see such disrespect shown his picture again."

Mr. Sibley is a grandson of the Confederate Lieutenant-General James Longstreet.

PRESIDENT HARDING in his Birmingham address upon the race question probably goes further than any other President since Lincoln in attempting to offer a solution which will ultimately prove acceptable to the white South, the white North, and the Negro. His frank acceptance of the two main contentions of Southern whites—namely, social separation of the races and the prevention of political domination of local governments by ignorant Negro voters—will do much to forestall criticism from this section.

His plea for economic equality is already recognized as just in many localities of the South. Political equality will eventually come to those Negroes who show themselves capable and worthy of exercising the franchise. This latter is a problem which will have to be faced by the intelligent leaders of both races of the next generation. It is generally recognized that our present disfranchisement laws are but a temporary expedient. In advocating the highest development of the Negro along racial lines, the President is but stating a consistent American policy, for each race can make a valuable contribution to American achievement. In sounding a warning that the Nation will not permit the South to keep the masses of the Negroes in ignorance, to be drained off to other sections of the country, the President is calling the attention of all to a very serious and very costly situation. He offers the South the co-operation of the Nation in working out the solution of the race problem, for he reminds us that the problem is no longer sectional, but is National.

It is to be hoped that the President's suggestions will ultimately be followed up by National aid to State Governments for the removal of illiteracy and suitable education for the Negro, for the South has had to bear the burden of Negro education almost alone for the past fifty years. Altogether the President speaks in a frank spirit of conciliation and offers co-operation in the solution of a most difficult problem.

JAMES LONGSTREET SIBLEY,
Extension Professor of Social Work,
University of Georgia.

The second delayed telegram which we publish was received from Dr. Bruce Ryburn Payne, President of George Peabody College for Teachers, of Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Payne has had a long and interesting career as a Southern educator. He has taught at William and Mary College and at the University of Virginia. He is a member of many educational societies, and is the author of "Elementary Curricula of Germany, France, England, and America." He holds degrees from Trinity College, North Carolina, and Columbia University.

His criticism of President Harding's address we publish herewith:

PRESIDENT HARDING asserts that social equality is repugnant to all people. He agrees with the South on that economic quality the Negro was rapidly acquiring before and during the war, for he had abundant industrial opportunity and was gradually gaining consideration of his claims among all laborers. Had it not been for the delay in the reorganization of the world market incident to the rejection of the League of Nations by Mr. Harding and his colleagues, the economic opportunity of the Negro would doubtless have continued uninterrupted.

Mr. Harding can himself promote the large economic opportunity for the Negro along with some millions of whites in America by helping to get some effective association or League of Nations, and so stabilize the world market in which the South normally sells its cotton. For the one supreme contribution which the Negro is competent to make toward the economic resources of the world is in the production of cotton. The availability of markets for this product can more than anything else advance the industrial opportunity of the Negro people. As a fact of practical government there is but one way for the Negroes to get a chance to vote in any considerable numbers, and that is by the demonstration of the sane use of the ballot by those Negroes who now exercise it. For a great many do now vote. These voters have the opportunity to render a large service to their race, a service vague words will not render. Demonstrated facts in this matter would carry conviction, for President Roosevelt was right in his enunciation on this point when he said that the brains and character of each community must determine who is fit to vote.

Mr. Harding says that it is a matter of the deepest National concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance to be drained away by the processes of migration into all sections. Mr. Harding's head and heart are no nearer right on this point than are the heads and hearts of the majority of good citizens in the South. We all regret that we cannot give the Negro more education, but we cannot do it without increased resources for schools, and we cannot increase the resources for schools without increased wealth to be taxed for schools, or a diminishing of taxes for Government purposes, or additional help from the Government or outside sources. If Mr. Harding would only tell us how to do either one of these things, he would make a great contribution to a problem that vexes the soul of those of us upon whose shoulders it falls more heavily than it does upon any one else not intimately and constantly in contact with the situation. It is expensive to conduct two systems of schools, the one for whites and the other for blacks. Schools are maintained by the surplus profits made in industry. That surplus is not as great in this region as expenditures for adequate education for the two races require. It is therefore a practical problem of deep concern to the Nation which the Nation really never has seriously considered and which the South is not financially able to solve.

BRUCE R. PAYNE,
President George Peabody
College for Teachers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Pays to Obey

the new laws on teeth cleaning

Dental science, after years of research, has set down some new laws on teeth cleaning.

Authorities advise them almost the world over. Leading dentists everywhere are urging their adoption. Millions of people already know the benefits.

Old methods have proved inadequate. Tooth troubles have been constantly increasing. Clean, glistening teeth have been rarities.

You owe yourself this ten-day test to see what the new way does.

The War on Film

One great object is to fight the film. Film is that viscous coat you feel. It clings to teeth, gets between the teeth and stays.

The tooth brush, used in old ways, leaves much of that film intact. Then night and day it threatens serious damage. Most tooth troubles are now traced to film.

Film absorbs stains, making the teeth look dingy. Film is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acids. It holds the acids in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Germs breed by millions in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. So no tooth matter is of more importance than daily film removal.

Film combatants

Dental science has found at last two effective film combatants. Authorities have proved them by many careful tests.

A new-day tooth paste has been perfected, called Pepsodent. It avoids past mistakes and meets modern requirements. These two film combatants are embodied in it. So every application fights the film in two efficient ways.

This Test

will show five effects

We offer here a ten-day test. It will be a revelation. You will see and feel five great effects which old ways do not bring you.

You will realize the effect on film. You will see teeth highly polished, so film less easily adheres.

In addition, these effects will come. And modern research proves all of them essential.

The salivary flow will be multiplied. That is Nature's great tooth-protecting agent.

The starch digestant in saliva will increase several fold. That is there to digest starch deposits on teeth, which may otherwise ferment and form acids.

The alkalinity of the saliva will be multiplied. That is Nature's neutralizer for acids which cause decay.

Every application brings those five desired effects. Together they will bring you a new conception of clean teeth.

Watch them whiten

Send the coupon for the 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten—how they glisten—as the film-coats disappear.

Watch the new beauty that comes to the teeth. Learn the new feeling of cleanliness. A few days will convince you that this new method is essential, both to you and yours.

Cut out the coupon now.

PAT. OFF.
Pepsodent
REG. U.S.

The New-Day Dentifrice

A scientific film combatant, bringing five desired effects. Approved by authorities and now advised by leading dentists everywhere. Supplied by druggists in large tubes.

10-Day Tube Free 767

THE PEPSODENT COMPANY
Dept. 364, 1104 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Mail 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent to

.....

.....

.....

Only one tube to a family.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The demands of the children for a "tasty" drink are well met by

Baker's Cocoa

It is, moreover, very nutritious and healthful, combining as it does in proper proportion the essentials of a perfect food. It is just as good for the older people of the family.

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

MADE ONLY BY

WALTER BAKER & CO. LTD.

Established 1780

DORCHESTER, MASS.

BOOKLET OF CHOICE RECIPES SENT FREE

Maple Syrup and Sugar

Absolutely Pure

GEORGE PORTER

Highland Farm, Alstead, New Hampshire

THE DEAF **EAR**

IF YOU KNEW: That the Magniphone is the finest and most wonderful aid for DEAF ears; That nothing can help you HEAR like it; That it is the latest triumph of Science; ***That with the Magniphone you can hear better than with anything else made;*** And if the price and everything suits you, Would you buy it? If so, you may try it FREE and decide it all for yourself. ***EVERY PERSON WHO IS HARD OF HEARING SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE MAGNIPHONE.*** Ask for a Free Trial and say, "I will buy it if it satisfies me otherwise I will return it and owe you nothing."

It will come to you promptly; we pay the delivery charges. Be convinced without cost.

The Magniphone Co., 29 E. Madison St., Chicago. Dept. 30

A CHARITY THAT WORKS BOTH WAYS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

THERE is great destitution and suffering among the fishermen on the northwest coast of Newfoundland. This is reported by Dr. Grenfell and people who have worked with him the last two summers, as well as from other sources. The market for their fish has been in great measure lost, owing to the grasping methods of certain dealers who took advantage of the war to charge exorbitant prices, to be paid in advance, and then to supply fish which was so inferior that it sometimes spoiled before it was delivered. This caused their customers in Europe and South America to turn to the fishermen of Norway, Sweden, and other northern countries who were unable to operate during the war, but are now working again. And there are other causes. The Newfoundland Government tried to keep up prices artificially, which resulted in further loss of trade. Then the price of fish has gone down to only a quarter of what it was during the war, whereas the price of supplies has gone down hardly at all, so that if the fishermen could find a market for their fish they could not make money. In addition, the rate of exchange makes buying impossible for the people in Europe who would like to buy. Further contributing causes to the distress are two epidemics of influenza and the volunteering during the war. The influenza interfered with the fishing, as it came in the summer, and Newfoundland contributed a contingent of volunteers out of all proportion to its population. With all of these causes, it is no wonder that the condition of these people is desperate, and through no fault of their own.

Sickness is rampant, the result of malnutrition—beriberi, scurvy, and other diseases which are the consequence of hunger—while a quantity of salt codfish is lying in the warehouses of Newfoundland with no prospect of buyers, so that no money is coming in with which to purchase food to carry these men and their families through the coming winter.

So great is the destitution already that when Mrs. Grenfell came south from Labrador recently and stopped in some of the harbors on the northwest coast of Newfoundland the fishermen's families flocked to the hospital ship and offered their most cherished possessions—mats, rugs, cushions, their poor little luxuries—in return for clothing, making this confession of poverty in spite of the fact that they are among the proudest, most sensitive, shyest people to be found anywhere.

Especially is the mortality among children likely to be great this winter, for they suffer most when there is a shortage not only of food but also of fuel. Last winter coal was bringing thirty-five dollars a ton there, and there is almost no wood. If the fishermen cannot buy food, how much less will they

Books With Purpose

BOOKS WITH PURPOSE AP

Modern Problems as Jesus Saw Them

Herman Harrell Horne

The author has applied the teachings of the Gospel to present day problems such as crime, wealth, labor, marriage and the Sabbath. It is a useful survey in topical form and the twelve studies are well worth *reading and thinking over.* Cloth, $1.15

Philosophy of Play

Luther Halsey Gulick

"If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what *he shall be, direct the form of his play."* This book is the product of one whose long study of play and practical experience in its application qualifies him to speak with the fullest authority. Play is not a preparation for life—it *is* life. On this principle Dr. Gulick lays much stress *throughout the volume.* Cloth, $2.00

Games

Compiled by George O. Draper

An entirely new compilation of over 300 games by a national expert on recreation, *arranged for the convenient use of teachers,* church leaders, Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, welfare workers and parents. The games are simple and require no equipment except that which is available in the most remote places. Cloth, $1.00

At your bookstore or from us

ASSOCIATION PRESS

347 Madison Avenue New York

Selected Gospel Hymns

A new book just issued. 271 Hymns and Scripture Readings selected from the famous

MOODY & SANKEY GOSPEL HYMNS 1 to 6

A handy volume in durable cloth binding.

$50 per 100 Carriage extra

The Biglow & Main Co., 156 5th Ave., N. Y.

What 15 Cts Will bring YOU From the Nation's Capital

The little matter of **15 cts.** (coin or stamps) will bring you the **Pathfinder 13 weeks on trial.** The Pathfinder is a cheerful illustrated weekly, published at the Nation's center for people everywhere; *an independent home paper that tells* the story of the world's news in an interesting, understandable way. Now in its 29th year. This splendid National weekly supplies a long-felt want; it costs but $1 a year. If you want to know what is going on in the world, this is your best means. If you want a paper in your home which is reliable and wholesome; if you would appreciate a paper which puts everything clearly, strongly, entertainingly, briefly—here it is. Splendid serial and short stories and miscellany. The Question Box Answers YOUR questions and is a mine of information. Send **15 cts.** to show that you might like such a paper and we will send the Pathfinder on probation **13** weeks. The 15 cents does not repay us, *but we are* glad to invest in new friends. Try it for 13 weeks. Address:

The Pathfinder, 590 Langdon Sta., Washington, D. C.

Going Like A Best Seller Novel

Letter from Publisher to Author

BONI & LIVERIGHT, Inc.

105 West 40th Street

New York

Dear Mr. Colcord:

I am amazed at the initial success of your book. The orders we have received during the last few days are larger than those for any but two books on our list.

Faithfully,

Horace B. Liveright.

THE GREAT DECEPTION

By SAMUEL COLCORD

By a compelling array of facts makes clear as daylight the meaning and mandate of the vote as to peace. It was *not* to scrap the League of Nations.

Buy it today. $1.50 *Everywhere, or of the Publishers*

BL BONI & LIVERIGHT MODERN LIBRARY NEW YORK

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be able to buy fuel? Yet their wooden houses are built on posts instead of on the ground, so that the winds of heaven have free play about them; and they are not even plastered, so that these winds cannot be kept out, and they are doubly cold because the wind is so damp. How the children are to live at all through all this is more than one can comprehend.

There is no need to speak of the starvation in Russia and the threat to the rest of the world which it constitutes. These are too well understood to need comment. Now Mr. William Willard Howard, a well-known ship-owner, has agreed to transport on his own ships, free of all charge, as many cargoes of salt cod bought from the Newfoundland fishermen as money can be raised to pay for and deliver them to the Hoover Commission in Russia, to be used exclusively for the feeding of Russian children.

Here is a charity which works at both ends, helping the destitute fishermen of Newfoundland, with their starving children, and those other starving children in Russia, with not a dollar spent in operating it. Moreover, the fish is bought from the most needy fishermen with the advice and co-operation of Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell, the famous "Labrador Doctor," whose knowledge of conditions in that field is unrivaled.

The cost of a cargo of fish, the most nutritious food imaginable for these poor little things, will be about $50,000. Surely there must be enough people who love children and sympathize with suffering to raise such a sum many times over. Contributions for this absolutely unique charity should be sent to the Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., editor of "The Christian Work," 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, marked "Russia."

But there is something further. Mr. Howard has brought down some cargoes of salt cod to Gloucester, and he will send a hundred pounds of it to anybody who will send him ten dollars. It will be delivered free of charge at any railway station east of the Mississippi. This is from one-third to one-fourth of the usual price of salt cod, and as this fish has not been treated with chemicals to preserve or whiten it, it has such a flavor as has been unknown to us for many years. It will keep for over a year if resalted at the end of a few months, so that any family with a cellar can use up a box, and in other cases boxes may be shared among neighbors, or given to poor people or to charitable institutions. Many of the writer's friends have tried these fish, and in every case the verdict was the same—that they had not eaten such delicious codfish in a long while. So here is another branch of the charity, where by buying fish you benefit both the poor fishermen and yourselves.

Checks should be sent, with directions where to send the fish, to Dr. Lynch or to Mr. Howard himself, at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

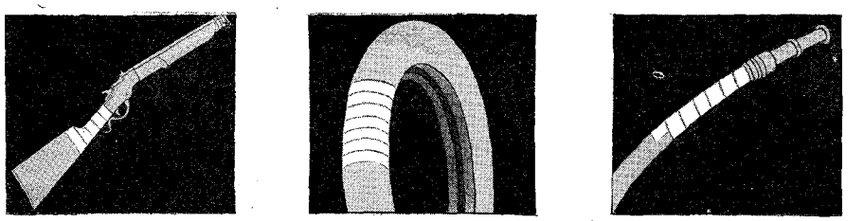
FRANK H. POTTER.

St. Paul's School,
Concord, New Hampshire.

FREE—A TRIAL STRIP—SEE COUPON

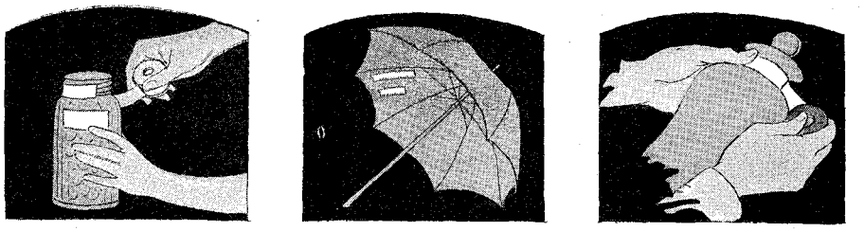
For Father

Note the pictures below—only three of the hundreds of ways to use Tirro, the handy-andy at home, office, shop, on the hunting-trip, on the golf course, in the motor-kit. Tirro saves time and money.



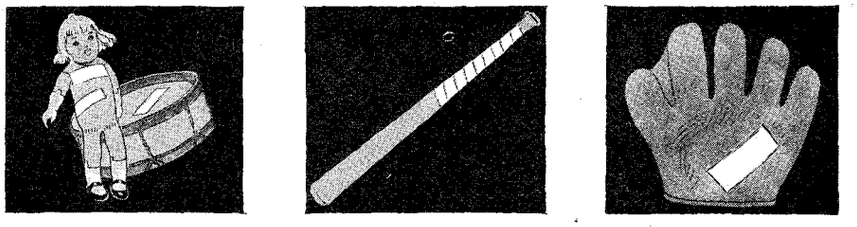
For Mother

For all those annoying breaks, tears, leaks and the like which occur constantly in the home. Tirro is ever-ready for an emergency. It can be applied instantly, without heating or wetting. It cannot spill.



For Children

Tirro—as the children's friend, saving things one becomes fond of, mending broken toys, holding things together, wrapping split handles—a child thinks of endless ways to use Tirro. It teaches thrift.

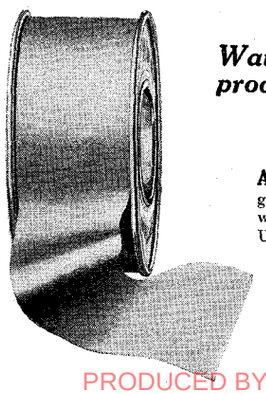


Mends—Wraps—Binds

Tirro is a rubber-coated, super-fabric. It comes on a spool. Cut it to suit for a patch or break. Or wrap it single or many fold. It adapts itself to all sorts of uses. It sticks with a permanent grip and becomes a part of the thing mended.

It is water-proofed and insulating. It clings to anything—glass, wood, metal, rubber, china, paper, cloth, etc., and stays stuck.

Tirro is certainly a money saver. It costs so little and does so much. It comes in two sizes. Prices in the United States: ¾ inch wide, 30c; 1⅛ inches wide, 50c. Tirro can be obtained at all druggists. Once you try it, you'll want to keep it handy.



Water-proofed **Tirro** *Extra Strong*

The Ideal Mending Tape

For Sale at All Druggists

A Free Trial Strip will be sent gladly upon request, together with our Book of a Thousand Uses. Merely write us.

BAUER & BLACK
Chicago New York Toronto
Makers of Sterile Surgical Dressings and Allied Products

FREE TRIAL STRIP

BAUER & BLACK Out. 1116
2500 Dearborn St., Chicago
Mail me strip of Tirro—also book.

_____

_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OUTLOOK CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING SECTION

Advertising Rates: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, Live Stock and Poultry, sixty cents per agate line, four columns to the page. Not less than four lines accepted.

"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each "Want" advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered.

Address: ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT, THE OUTLOOK, 381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Tours and Travel

CONDUCTED TOURS

South America

Third annual Cruise-Tour via S. S. EBRO, sailing from New York Feb. 11th, returning April 10th (59 days), visiting Havana, Panama, Lima, Mollendo, Valparaiso, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santos, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

MEDITERRANEAN CRUISE
61 Days
S. S. CARMANIA, Feb. 11th

HONOLULU
via
West Indies, Panama Canal
S. S. BUCKEYE STATE
Jan. 7th

AROUND THE WORLD
Dec. 17th and Dec. 31st

CALIFORNIA
Tours at frequent intervals.

FLORIDA—CUBA
Tours Jan., Feb., and March

Call, write, or 'phone.

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY
65 Broadway, New York

EGYPT

Palestine, Greece and Sicily

Sailings Jan. 7, Jan. 21, Feb. 18, Mar. 4.

THE ONLY NILE TOUR having
1. A Private Steamer
2. A Scholarly Leader
3. A Course of Interpretive Talks
4. A Trip to the Second Cataract without Change of Steamer

Write for details to

BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
15 Boyd Street, Newton, Mass.

THE beauty, fascination, and mystery of the Orient lures visitors from all over the world to

JAPAN

The quaintest and most interesting of all countries. Come while the old age customs prevail. Write, mentioning "Outlook" to

JAPAN HOTEL ASSOCIATION
Care Traffic Dept.
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS
TOKYO
for full information

Rates for a single room without bath and with 3 meals, $5-6 in cities and popular resorts, $4-5 in the country

FREE TRIP TO EUROPE will be given an organizer of a small party. Established 1900. Babcock's Tours, 1137 Dean St., Brooklyn

Tours and Travel

EGYPT, PALESTINE—
Sail Jan. 10, Feb. 18 and March 4.
MADEIRA, GIBRALTAR, ALGIERS, MONACO, NAPLES, CAIRO, THE NILE, JERUSALEM, CONSTANTINOPLE, ATHENS.

EUROPE 1922
ITALY, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM, HOLLAND, ENGLAND, THE PASSION PLAY.
Limited parties enrolling now.

TEMPLE TOURS 65A FRANKLIN ST., BOSTON, MASS.

Hotels and Resorts

BERMUDA

The Ideal Winter Resort

PRINCESS HOTEL BERMUDA

Directly on the Harbor. Accommodates 400.
Open Dec. 12 to May 1.
L. A. TWOROGER, Manager
Successor to HOWE & TWOROGER.
Mr. Tworoger will be at Hotel Belmont, Park Ave. and 42d St., N. Y., Nov. 16th to 29th.

FLORIDA

Spend your Winter at

Dunedin Lodge—On the Gulf

A charming Southern colonial hostelry preserving the air of Ole Virginia in its hospitality, furnishing and table. All outside rooms. Beautiful sea-views. Private baths. Steam heat. Write for booklet. Dunedin, Florida.

MASSACHUSETTS

THE WELDON HOTEL
GREENFIELD, MASS.

offers special winter rates for rooms, and will serve at a moderate price a Club Breakfast, Special Noonday Luncheon, and Evening Dinner. A series of weekly musicales and monthly dances given for the pleasure of our guests. For further particulars apply to
N. A. CAMPBELL, Manager.

Rock Ridge Hall

WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS. (Near Boston)

Fine location. Hot and cold running water in nearly all bedrooms. Private baths. Sun-parlor. Our table a specialty. Terms moderate.

NEW JERSEY

THE MADISON
LAKEWOOD, N. J. NOW OPEN
One Block from Lake and Pines
A Home for Discriminating Guests
Quiet, refined surroundings. Private baths. Solarium. Golf. Robert M. Crouch.

"A Good Place to Board"

La Vassar House, Lakewood, N.J.
Select clientele. Reasonable rates,

NEW YORK CITY

Hotel Webster
(Near 5th Avenue)
40 West 45th Street
NEW YORK

Directly in the fashionable club and shopping section. Within five minutes' walk to all principal theaters. A high-class hotel patronized by those desiring the best accommodations at moderate cost.
Rates and map gladly sent upon request.
JOHN P. TOLSON, Prop.

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square

adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $3.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.

Hotels and Resorts

NEW YORK CITY

Hotel Hargrave
West 72d St., through to 71st St., New York

300 rooms, each with bath. Absolutely fireproof. One block to 72d St. entrance of Central Park. Comfort and refinement combined with moderate rates. Send for illustrated booklet J.

NORTH CAROLINA

Pinehurst
NORTH CAROLINA

Sunshine and the pines, good fellowship, true sport.

CAROLINA HOTEL now open
Holly Inn and Berkshire open early in January
Hotel rates substantially reduced
GOLF—SHOOTING—RACING—MOTORING—RIDING—DRIVING—TENNIS—AIRPLANING
Weather like late Fall in New England.
For Reservations or Information address:
General Office, PINEHURST, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

THE Kirkwood
On Camden Heights
SOUTH CAROLINA
OPENS IN DEC.
18-hole Golf, Riding, Climate
T. EDMUND KRUMBHOLZ

EARLY GOLF and HUNTING
PINE FOREST INN and Cottages
SUMMERVILLE, S. C.
Fully open Dec. 1

Special December and January Tournaments. No snow—only sunshine and flowers. Superb 18-hole golf course. Quail, wild turkey, fox and deer hunting. Tennis. Saddle and carriage horses. WILLARD A. SENNA, Manager.

Health Resorts

The Easton Sanitarium
Easton, Pennsylvania
Established 25 years. Licensed.

A PRIVATE INSTITUTION for the care and treatment of nervous and mental disorders, conditions of semi-invalidism, aged people and selected cases of drug addiction and alcoholism. Homelike atmosphere; personal care; outdoor recreation and occupation year round; delightfully located overlooking the Delaware River and the city of Easton; 2 hours from New York City; 68 miles from Philadelphia. For booklet and particulars address Medical Director, or phone 166 Easton.

LINDEN Doylestown, Pa. — The Ideal Place for Sick People to Get Well
An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

The Bethesda White Plains, N. Y.

A private sanitarium for invalids and aged who need care. Ideal surroundings. Address for terms Alice Gates Bugbee, M.D. Tel. 241.

Health Resorts

Graduate nurse, with large farm, hilly country, steam, electricity, bath rooms, sleeping porches, will board and care for tubercular guests. Address Nurse, 6,031, Outlook.

Board Wanted

WANTED—In Hartford, Conn.
Two paying guests taken in exclusive private house. 6,023, Outlook.

Real Estate

CALIFORNIA

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE Southern California Home. 10 rooms, 2 baths, sleeping porches, large corner lot. Reasonable terms. 6,021, Outlook.

FLORIDA

SARASOTA, FLORIDA
TO RENT and FOR SALE

Finest river and bay front homes in famous Manatee Country, with and without groves. FOR SALE—groves, farms, truck and timber lands. Colonization tracts a specialty. Address 6,015, Outlook.

Want Anything in Florida?
Splendid homes for sale or rent.
A. S. CLARK, SARASOTA, FLORIDA.

NEW JERSEY

FOR SALE A FARM OF 90 ACRES in New Jersey near Hightstown—and therefore not far from Princeton. 10 acres in wood lot, remainder fine arable land. House in good condition. New floors and ell. Fully furnished. Much old mahogany and many fine paintings. Apply to E. B. THELBERG, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie.

NEW YORK

FLATBUSH, Brooklyn, N. Y. Brick house, 7 rooms, electricity, parquet floors, with extra lot to build on. Convenient cars, subways. $9,000. EDRIDGE, 237 East 54th St., Brooklyn.

NORTH CAROLINA

Pinehurst
NORTH CAROLINA

Winter Homes

For Sale and for Rent

A. S. NEWCOMB & COMPANY

AGENTS WANTED

AGENTS coining money selling Universa Gas Savers for every gas stove. Wonderful device. Cuts gas bills in half. Increases heat. Popular prices, 100% profit. Exclusive territory. Write quick. B. A. Moore, Gas Saver Company, Topeka, Kan.

BOARD AND ROOMS

BOARDERS wanted in private family near Vassar College. Adults only. References required. 31 La Grange Ave., Arlington, N. Y.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

COOKING for PROFIT. Earn handsome income; home cooked food, catering, tea room, etc. Correspondence course. Am. School Home Economics, Chicago.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inquiries at Seven Cents Each!

The following letter has just come to the Classified Department of The Outlook, entirely unsolicited:

——— STATIONERY CO.

Gentlemen: The following figures might prove interesting to you. They are hardly comparative as they cover a constant eight months insertions in The Outlook and only single trial insertions in the other magazines, however my results from the first advt. I ran in The Outlook averaged as well as after six months.

Cost of each inquiry received from advertising in

The Outlook	$.07	The Independent	.80
Leslie's Weekly	.72	Literary Digest	1.88

Very truly yours,

Perhaps you are selling an article of merit through the mail. Would you like to secure orders at a cost of seven cents apiece? The advertiser quoted above has found the answer.

The advertising rate in this section is only ten cents per word.

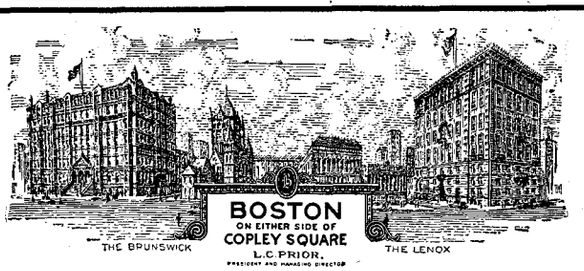
Send us your advertisement before you forget about it.

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 381 Fourth Avenue, NEW YORK CITY

Photographs and Cartoons

THE OUTLOOK can always use good amateur photographs of interesting scenes or events. We pay $3 for each one accepted, if suitable for a half page or smaller; $5 if selected for full-page reproduction. We especially want snapshots made by the person submitting the photographs. Cartoons are also desired; if accepted we pay $1 each. Postage should be inclosed for return of photographs if not available for our use; cartoons are not returned.

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
381 Fourth Ave., New York



Two Boston hotels that have contributed greatly to the traditional distinction of the Back Bay.

The LENOX
Boylston St. at Exeter

The BRUNSWICK
Boylston St. at Clarendon

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

DIETITIANS, secretaries, cafeteria managers, governesses, matrons, housekeepers, social workers, superintendents. Miss Richards, Providence, R. I. Box 5 East Side. Boston, Trinity Court, 16 Jackson Hall, Thursdays 11 to 1. Address Providence.

FOR THE HOME

HONEY—Wholesome and delicious new buckwheat honey direct from producer. Warranted pure and clean. Try buckwheat cakes with buckwheat honey. 10 pounds $1.80, 5 pounds $1.00. Postage prepaid and insured Zones 1, 2, 3. Herbert A. McCallum, Great Barrington, Mass.

GREETING CARDS

COPLEY CRAFT CHRISTMAS CARDS. Hand-colored, sent on approval. The line is best known for its distinctive verses. Write early for samples. Jessie A. McNicol, 18 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.

LITERARY SERVICE

WE prepare special articles and material for speakers, writers, lecturers. Manuscripts expertly revised. Herald Publicity Service, 405 Bristol Building, New York.

STATIONERY

UNUSUALLY desirable stationery for any type of correspondence. 200 sheets high grade note paper and 100 envelopes printed with your name and address postpaid $1.50. Samples on request. Lewis, 284 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Professional Situations

COUNCILORS, highest class Southern camp, July-September. Full particulars education and experience. 656, Outlook.

Business Situations

HEAD councilor for aristocratic summer girls' camp: 25-35 years, refined, healthy, resourceful. Protestant. College graduate preferred. Lock Box 26, New London, N. H.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

PLEASANT home will be provided and moderate salary paid to woman of education and refinement, preferably one with recent experience with children, to assist in care of motherless children. Girls, ages fifteen, thirteen and ten, boy six. Location Connecticut. Address 662, Outlook.

MOTHER'S helper to take charge of three small children. State salary expected. References. Address 16 E. High St., "The Heights," Lebanon, Pa.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Business Situations

DIRECTOR in community house desires like position elsewhere; or in boys' home. Or as teacher in private school. Over eight years' experience. 600. Outlook.

SECRETARY, experienced; educational or literary work preferred. 661, Outlook.

SECRETARY-stenographer. Young lady, 25, college graduate, with secretarial training at Burdett College, desires residential position in educational institution. No experience. Miss D. F. Graves, Exeter, N. H.

SECRETARY-stenographer, experienced, desires position with doctor, institution or hotel. References. 652, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

LADY experienced in the management of larger and smaller households desires position as visiting housekeeper, companion, or secretary. 570, Outlook.

CALIFORNIA—Lady physician going to California will act as companion for lady or children during trip in exchange for expenses. 643, Outlook.

GENTLEWOMAN wants position as companion or working housekeeper to gentleman or single woman in New York City. Willing to go South. 649, Outlook.

WOMAN with motherly interest in boys and young men wants position as housemother in school or institution where she can be of real service. Capable of managing kitchen and dining-room. Not afraid of work. 651, Outlook.

LADY of real refinement, without relatives, graduate nurse, good traveler, desires position where she may act as dutiful daughter with couple or gentleman. Unquestionable credentials. 653, Outlook.

PROFESSIONAL woman will chaperon or companion to lady in Europe for expenses (living and traveling). 655, Outlook.

COMPANION to lady or housekeeper. Middle aged woman desires position. References exchanged, 658, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

EXPERIENCED teacher of mental defectives, with unusual training, work under leading specialists, wishes position resident tutor, retarded child going California, Florida. Difficult case preferred. Manual training, stuttering, stammering, nurse's training, massage. 659, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Position by young English woman. Protestant. College graduate. Competent teacher. French, Latin, music, health. Devoted to children. Excellent references. Miss Perry, 73 Cooke St., Providence, R. I.

MISCELLANEOUS

HAVE YOU EVERYTHING YOU WANT? If not, learn how to succeed. "National Success Course," 24 long lessons (formerly $24.00) now offered as premium with "BOOKKEEPER and ACCOUNTANT" (best monthly magazine for students, merchants, bookkeepers and accountants) for two years $5.00. Money back if wanted. Full particulars free. Remit Charles B. Sweetland, Editor, 452 Pierce Bldg., St. Louis.

BOYS wanted. 500 boys wanted to sell The Outlook each week. No investment necessary. Write for selling plan, Carrier Department, The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City.

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will send things on approval. No samples. References. 309 West 99th St.

TRUNKS, BAGS, SUITCASES. Why pay two middlemen profits? Buy from factory direct. Send for free catalog. Monarch Trunk Factory, Spring Valley, Ill.

FREE UNITARIAN LITERATURE. Correspondence solicited. Mrs. Helen Whiton, Hingham Center, Mass.

AMBITIOUS WRITERS send to-day for free copy America's leading magazine for writers of photoplays, stories, poems, songs. Instructive, helpful. Writer's Digest, 688 Butler Bldg., Cincinnati.

PROFESSIONAL woman will care for two children in suburban home. $30 per week each. 654, Outlook.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

W. L. DOUGLAS

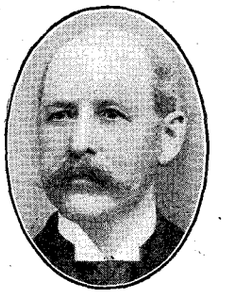
FOR MEN AND WOMEN

$7.00 & $8.00 SHOES

W.L.DOUGLAS SHOES FOR FALL AND WINTER WEAR IN ALL THE LATEST STYLES ALL LEATHERS ALL SIZES AND WIDTHS

SPECIAL SHOES HAND WORKMANSHIP $10.00 STYLISH AND DURABLE SHOES $5.00

YOU CAN SAVE MONEY BY WEARING W. L. DOUGLAS SHOES



The best known shoes in the world. They are sold in 107 W.L.Douglas stores, direct from the factory to you at only one profit, which guarantees to you the best shoes that can be produced, at the lowest possible cost. W.L. Douglas name and the retail price is stamped on the sole of all shoes before they leave the factory, which is your protection against unreasonable profits

W. L. Douglas $7.00 and $8.00 shoes are absolutely the best shoe values for the money in this country. They combine quality, style, workmanship and wearing qualities equal to other makes selling at higher prices. They are the leaders in the fashion centers of America. The stamped price is W. L. Douglas personal guarantee that the shoes are always worth the price paid for them. The prices are the same everywhere; they cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

W. L. Douglas shoes are made by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy.

BOYS SHOES $4.50 & $5.00

W. L. Douglas name and portrait is the best known shoe Trade Mark in the world. It stands for the highest standard of quality at the lowest possible cost. W. L. Douglas shoes with his name and retail price stamped on the sole are worn by more men than any other make.

CAUTION.—Insist upon having W. L. Douglas shoes. The name and price is plainly stamped on the sole. Be careful to see that it has not been changed or mutilated.

If not for sale in your vicinity, order direct from factory. Catalog free.

W. L. Douglas
President
W. L. Douglas Shoe Co.,
167 Spark St., Brockton, Mass.

Vapo Cresolene Est. 1879

The Vapor Treatment for Coughs and Colds

The time for Vapo-Cresolene is at the **first** indication of a **cold** or **sore throat**, which are so often the warnings of dangerous complications.

Simple to use; you just light the little lamp that vaporizes the Cresolene and place it near the bed at night.

The soothing antiseptic vapor is breathed all night, **making breathing easy**, relieving the cough and easing the sore throat and congested chest.

Cresolene is recommended for **Whooping Cough, Spasmodic Croup, Influenza, Bronchitis, Coughs and Nasal Catarrh.** Its germicidal qualities make it a reliable protection when these diseases are epidemic. It gives great relief in **Asthma.**

Cresolene has been recommended and used for the past 42 years. The benefit derived from it is unquestionable.

Sold by druggists. Send for descriptive booklet 31. The VAPO-CRESOLENE CO., 62 Cortlandt St., New York, or Leming-Miles Bldg., Montreal, Canada.

BRONZE
HONOR ROLLS AND HISTORICAL TABLETS
REED & BARTON, TAUNTON, MASS.

The Pratt Teachers Agency
70 Fifth Avenue, New York
Recommends teachers to colleges, public and private schools. Advises parents about schools. **Wm. O. Pratt, Mgr.**

St. John's Riverside Hospital Training School for Nurses
YONKERS, NEW YORK
Registered in New York State, offers a 2½ years' course—as general training to refined, educated women. Requirements one year high school or its equivalent. Apply to the Directress of Nurses, Yonkers, New York.

Don't Wear a Truss

MR. C. E. BROOKS

Brooks' Appliance, the modern scientific invention, the wonderful new discovery that relieves rupture, will be sent on trial. No obnoxious springs or pads.

Brooks' Rupture Appliance

Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.
Brooks Appliance Co., 471H State St., Marshall, Mich.

SOUTH AMERICA

Our exceptionally well-planned Cruise-Tour to this intensely interesting field for pleasure travel will leave New York Feb. 4, 1922.

The itinerary includes calls at HAVANA — PANAMA CANAL — the historic cities of PERU & CHILE — ARGENTINE, URUGUAY & BRAZIL, arriving back in New York — via the East Coast Route — on April 3d.

All Information and Literature on Request

THOS. COOK & SON
245 Broadway, New York
Chicago Philadelphia Boston
San Francisco Los Angeles
Montreal Toronto Vancouver
150 Offices Throughout the World

BY THE WAY

A PHILIPPINE correspondent says that the United States coin called a half centavo has an amusing history. In the early days of American occupation the Filipinos were accustomed to adjust their finer financial transactions by making change with a part of a box of matches when the negotiation did not come out on the even centavo. Our Government coined a half centavo piece to meet the emergency, and issued 17,734,000 pieces of the diminutive coin. But advancing prices made the piece unnecessary, and the soldiers often showed their contempt for even the whole centavo by throwing it out of the window when they received it in change on the tram.

When it was found that there was no demand for the half centavos described above, they were called in to be recoined into centavos; but there are still, our correspondent says, 10,331,928 of these coins that have not been turned in for redemption. He has not seen one in circulation for many years, he says. Where are they? is his question, which perhaps some numismatist can answer. We can ourselves account for two of them, for our correspondent incloses a pair for the benefit of our "office cat."

The Washington Building, No. 1 Broadway, New York City, long known as the original skyscraper of lower New York, has been completely remodeled without dispossessing the tenants of seven of its twelve stories. The lower five stories are to be the home of the International Mercantile Marine Company. In a historical sketch of the houses that have existed at No. 1 Broadway a New York paper says that just opposite this site Peter Minuit in 1640 bargained with the Indian owners of Manhattan and bought the island for $24. In a mansion built on the site General Washington frequently met his officers, and later it was occupied by General Howe, General Clinton, and Major André, of the British forces. As the Washington Hotel the same building housed Talleyrand and many other famous guests.

Rickshas, according to the magazine called "Japan," will soon be a thing of the past in both Japan and China. It is said that there are only about half as many men operating these picturesque vehicles now as there were two years ago. The ricksha is being dispossessed by the all-conquering automobile, which is appearing in constantly increasing numbers on the streets of Far Eastern cities.

These seem to be the days of the motor-bus in Europe. An English automobile magazine says: "Frequently six or eight of these road-destroying monsters are following one behind the other . . . during the week-ends along main roads leaving from London to the nearer coast towns, and the task of overtaking them in a light car is as objectionable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as it is difficult." A correspondent of the same magazine, writing in a friendlier spirit about the motor-bus in southern France, says: "From Lourdes, 350 motor-busses ascend daily, principally to the Cirque de Gavarnie, winding their way through the beautiful scenery of the Pyrenees."

The London "Times" personal column, that repository of odd revelations and appeals, contains in a recent issue these advertisements:

URGENT.—Would anyone help young married couple (gentlefolk), one child? £100 or less would make the difference between happiness and continual worry. Write Box ——, Times.

THE AMERICAN LADY suffering from loss of memory since last May through an accident now remembers her name to be —— —— ——. Please communicate Box ——, etc.

A subscriber writes that he was mystified, in reading the article in The Outlook for October 12 on "Municipal Fishing," by allusions to the Esopus River. He finally discovered, he says, that it was "our own Esopus Creek, or 'the Crick,' as it is called in common parlance. We have only one river," he adds—"the Hudson."

Bigger bodies of water than the Esopus, it may be remarked in comment on the above criticism, have been called by the name of creek. It was Mr. Roosevelt, some of our readers may remember, who accosted a bare-headed Rough Rider on the voyage to Cuba and asked him why he looked so sad. The soldier replied: "Colonel, my hat's blowed in the creek."

The correction of popular misapprehensions about Napoleon seems well-nigh endless. A recent magazine article on the Barb horse says that Napoleon's famous white charger, Marengo, though popularly depicted as an imposing and weighty horse, was in reality a Barb 14½ hands high. The endurance of this celebrated war horse is well known; he carried Napoleon throughout his strenuous campaigns—a great little man on a wonderful little horse. Marengo's skeleton, it may be remarked, is to be seen at the Museum of the United Services in Whitehall, London.

An Englishman tells in the "Atlantic" about a personal experience in Germany that agreeably surprised him. He was on a train crowded with German ex-soldiers. One of these soldiers eyed him curiously and finally asked his nationality. He replied that he was an Englishman. For a moment he thought that he might be accidentally shoved off the train, then a voice asked, "Have you got any English cigarettes?" He happened to have a couple of packets of a brand that he very much disliked, and distributed them around, with the happiest results. At the next junction two of the soldiers insisted on helping to carry the Englishman's baggage off the train and on to the one that was to carry him to his destination.

A $5.00 Gift for a Boy or Girl—BUT the Value of it is Priceless

NO finer gift can be imagined than a year's subscription to St. Nicholas. It brings delight twelve times a year. It stimulates imagination. It is a gift of the mind and the heart.

The regular St. Nicholas subscription price is $4.00 a year. As a special $5.00 Christmas offer we will add to St. Nicholas one of these splendid books by great authors:

THE LOST PRINCE, by Frances Hodgson Burnett. This story is a classic of youth. It is the fascinating tale of the adventures of a boy prince who, visiting London with his father, becomes lost and sees many sides of real life. A well-printed and beautifully-bound book. Regular price, $2.

STORIES OF THE GREAT WEST, by Theodore Roosevelt. Thrilling tales of frontier life, related with the appreciation which this great President had for the early pioneers and their struggles against the Indians. A book every American boy and girl should read. Regular price, $2.

EITHER OF THESE TWO WONDERFUL BOOKS *and*

ST NICHOLAS Magazine

FOR ONE YEAR *for* $5.00

WHAT a gift this is for any boy or girl who loves to read. St. Nicholas has been the favorite magazine of American youth for fifty years. In 1922 it will be better and brighter than ever before. It will contain a wealth of stories by the most popular writers for boys and girls. In each issue, besides a number of complete stories, will be articles on travel, sports, camping, nature, science, adventure, topics of the day—everything for the mental development of youth.

Reading St. Nicholas makes better-informed, broader-minded young men and women. It is a real magazine, written and edited especially for boys and girls up to 18 years.

St. Nicholas should be in every home where good reading is appreciated. Subscribe for it this Christmas for your boy and girl. Take advantage of this special offer and add a splendid book to the gift.

In place of either of the books described above, you may choose any one from this list for the $5 special offer:

Hero Tales from American History—by Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge—$1.90.

Boy Scouts in the Wilderness—by Samuel Scoville—$1.75.

St. Nicholas Christmas Book of selected stories—$2.

The Brownies and Prince Florimel—by Palmer Cox—$1.75.

The Crimson Sweater—by Ralph Henry Barbour—$1.75.

Please send your subscription as soon as possible so there will be plenty of time for the book, the first issue of St. Nicholas and the handsome Gift Card to reach before Christmas Eve, the boy or girl to whom you are sending them.

——————————COUPON——————————

St. Nicholas Magazine, Subscription Dept. J-22, 353 Fourth Ave., New York

For the enclosed $5 please send St. Nicholas Magazine for one year to

Name.....

Address.....

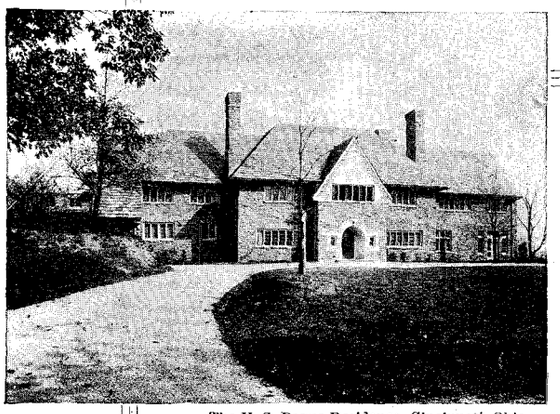
Send (Book selected)..... and Gift Card to

Name.....

Address.....

(If subscription alone is wanted, enclose only $4)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The H. S. Pogue Residence, Cincinnati, Ohio
G. C. Burroughs, Cincinnati, O., Architect

CRITTALL
UNIVERSAL

ENGLISH CASEMENTS and windows *for* banks, offices, schools, hospitals *etc.*

CRITTALL

Steel Casements

for artistic residences *and* other substantial buildings

Made in varied designs to meet all conditions

Crittall Casement Window Co., *Manufacturers*
DETROIT

OLD — LAME PEOPLE — NEW
NEED NATURE FORM EXTENSION SHOE
Makes both feet look alike, no matter how short. Ready-made shoes worn. Stylish and secure. *Write for Booklet.*
A. O. SINN, 748 Bergen St., Newark, N. J.

Does your face smart and burn after shaving?

THEN use Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream and see how cool and refreshed it leaves your skin after every shave.

Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream has an exclusive medicinal property that soothes the most sensitive skin—heals those annoying little cuts—leaves your face smooth and cool. No need to use a lotion.

Get your first jar from your druggist today—50c. If your druggist is not supplied, order direct—we will make it worth your while. Send us 50c. today, together with your druggist's name and address, and we will mail you a 50c. jar of Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream, with a tourist's shaving brush in nickel case, *free.*

FREDERICK F. INGRAM COMPANY
Windsor, Ont. 72 Tenth St., Detroit, Mich.

Ingram's
Therapeutic Shaving Cream

There is Comfort *In Every Jar*

(270)

Send for Recipe Book

This Big 5 Pound Bag of Delicious Shelled Peanuts $1.75

Direct from grower by Prepaid Parcels Post to your door. More and better peanuts than $5 will buy at stands or stores. Along with Recipe Book telling of over 60 ways to use them as foods. We guarantee prompt delivery and ship at once. 10 lbs, $3.00. Money back if not delighted.

EASTERN PEANUT CO., 13A, HERTFORD, N. C.

for swellings

Swellings usually mean inflamed tissue. Absorbine, Jr., gently rubbed on the swollen part will quickly reduce the inflammation, and the swelling with it.

Though powerful, Absorbine, Jr., is absolutely harmless and can be used with safety and comfort. It is a dependable antiseptic and germicide. Keep it handy.

$1.25 a bottle at most druggists.
A Liberal Trial Bottle sent for 10c.

W. F. YOUNG, Inc.
443 Temple St., Springfield, Mass.

Absorbine, Jr.
THE ANTISEPTIC LINIMENT

CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY conducts the column known as "The Bowling Green" in the New York "Evening Post." He was born in Haverford, Pennsylvania, was graduated from Haverford College and was appointed Rhodes Scholar at New College, Oxford. Returning to America, he joined the editorial staff of Doubleday, Page & Co., and later went to the "Ladies' Home Journal," and then to the Philadelphia "Evening Ledger." He is the author of "Parnassus on Wheels," "Songs for a Little House," "Plum Pudding," etc.

FRANK J. BRUNNER was formerly editor of the Washington "Army and Navy Journal." He has recently been an observer of armament tests at Aberdeen and has an intimate knowledge of service matters.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE has the D. Willis James chair of Missions at Yale University.

ANDREW TEN EYCK has contributed frequently to The Outlook on diplomatic subjects. He has lived in London and in nearly all of the countries of Continental Europe as special correspondent for the New York "Tribune."

ROBERT WALTER BRUÈRE is director of the Bureau of Industrial Research in New York. He is a graduate of Washington University, and did post-graduate work at the University of Berlin and the University of Chicago. He has taught German and French at the Southside Academy in Chicago, has been on the English faculty of the University of Chicago, and on the lecture staff of the Rand School of Social Science, New York, and was formerly general agent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE, who collaborates with Robert Walter Bruère, her husband, on "The Country Pew Versus the Country Pulpit," was educated at Vassar College, the University of Chicago, and the Art Institute of Chicago. As a portrait painter she has exhibited extensively. Mrs. Bruère collaborated with her husband on "Increasing Home Efficiency," and is the author of "Mildred Carver, U. S. A.," "Experiences of a Nursery Governess," "The Workingman's Wife," etc.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT is in Washington, where he is writing his impressions of the Arms Conference. Mr. Abbott is Secretary of The Outlook Company and one of its editors.

HIGHER EDUCATION

HOME STUDY

Courses in English, Spanish, Mathematics, Chemistry, Drawing, Education, Business and in 35 other subjects are given by correspondence. Begin any time.

The University of Chicago
20th Year Division 10, Chicago, Ill.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED